DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 347 791 FL 019 461

AUTHOR Tickoo, Makhan L., Ed.
TITLE Languages & Standards: Issues, Attitudes, Case Studies. Anthology Series 26.
INSTITUTION Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (Singapore). Regional Language Centre.
REPORT NO ISBN-9971-74-038-9; ISSN-0129-8895; SEAMEO-RECL-P384-91
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 250p.; For related documents, see FL 019 462-476.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Applied Linguistics; Case Studies; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *Language Standardization; *Language Variation; Models; *Standard Spoken Usage; Written Language
IDENTIFIERS India; Philippines; Singapore; *World English

ABSTRACT

This anthology on languages and standards was designed to serve two main purposes: (1) to provide an academic forum for linguistic scholars and language educators within and outside the region of Southeast Asia whose contributions would add substantially to an understanding of this important subject; and (2) to make relevant aspects of current knowledge and understanding available to language planners and practitioners in Southeast Asia. The seventeen papers included in this volume, the fourth in this series, bring together various viewpoints and several major schools of thought, and raise a number of issues for both policy planning and language education. Section titles are as follows: (1) "Issues in Theory and Pedagogy"; (2) "Issues in Implementation"; and (3) "English in the World: Issues and Atittudes." (JL)

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ED 247291

LANGUAGES & STANDARDS:
Issues, Attitudes, Case Studies

REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE

SEAMEO

Edited by
MAKHAN L TICKOO

ANTHOLOGY SERIES 26

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LANGUAGES & STANDARDS: Issues, Attitudes, Case Studies

Edited by Makhan L. Tickoo

FL019461

Anthology Series 26
Published by
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre

RELC P384-91

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30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
ISBN 9971-74-038-9
ISSN 0129-8895

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Foreword

A main task of RELC and the one that the Centre will specifically address in its next five-year plan (1992-1996) is to serve, promote, stimulate and encourage the pursuit of excellence in the relevant areas of language education in Southeast Asia. One of the means to achieve this avowed objective will be a focussed attention to the maintenance and enhancement of the languages that serve this region and its member countries in the varied functions that national and international languages are meant to perform in them. Concern for language standards and standard languages thus becomes pivotal to RELC's service to the region.

This anthology on 'Languages and Standards: Issues, Attitudes and Case-Studies' was designed to serve two main purposes: a) to provide an academic forum for linguistic scholars and language educators within and outside the region whose contributions, it was hoped, would add substantially to a 'State of the Art' understanding of this important subject, and b) to make the relevant aspects of current knowledge and understanding available to language planners and practitioners in Southeast Asia. The response has been generous. Scholars of eminence from Asia, Australia, North America and the United Kingdom have made their valued contributions. The region too is well represented and that gives me particular pleasure. In its seventeen papers, including a 'note' and a 'response', this volume not only serves to bring together various viewpoints and several major schools of thought; it also raises a number of issues for both policy planning and language education. Some of these issues will receive attention at this Centre but most should be of interest to language scholars and teachers in the region and in the world of learning within and outside it.

This anthology is the fourth in the 'State of the Art' series that was initiated some four years ago. I hope many more will follow; a few are already on the anvil. In associating myself with this publication I would like to thank its editor and all those who have been participating in the Centre's professional publications which have, in a small way, contributed to not only RELC's continuing growth as a centre for excellence in language education but also to the region's successes in grappling with the problems of languages and learning in its multilingual and multiracial societies.

Earnest Lau
Director
January 1991

Introduction

I. Standard language(SL) is generally regarded as language well established by usage in the speech and writing of educated people. A product of schooling, this learnt language has, in most societies, come to assume a special place and is looked upon as an authoritative exemplar of correctness and quality and, at its best, of perfection. In language-conscious speech communities SL also serves as a reliable measure of language proficiency which is made use of by people in administrative or educational authority. Language planners and practitioners in particular are charged with the responsibility of upholding this language in its purest forms, the learning and teaching of SL having become accepted as an integral part of every national or state-level educational system's long-term obligations.

I. (i) In another judgment however SL may be one only among several varieties of a language. In general regarded as measurably superior to other varieties (dialects or registers) in many important domains of language use, SL cannot, in this judgment, claim any inherently superior value regardless of who uses it with whom, where, when or why. Used in an inappropriate mode, tenor or genre it too may in fact not only cause (partial)failures of communication but may on occasion do considerable damage to human relationships. Even good medicine loses its efficacy through inept prescription.

I. (ii) Looked at from yet another perspective a speech community's pursuit and promotion of SL need not necessarily be motivated by only the noblest instincts of educated men in a literate society. James Sledd, who has taught standard written English with distinction for some 50 years at universities across the United States, for instance, finds enough evidence to warn that the "debate over the nature of a standard language should be recognised as inherently political" (Sledd 1988). He questions the widely supported scholarly thesis that standard written English (or what he calls the grapholect) is "classless, unchanging, independent of speech, and transdialectal" (Sledd 1988). As he perceives it, SL is "the dialect of dominance", "the English used by the powerful" and although, in the end, he too resigns himself to an acceptance of the fact that "for the sake of communication in society as it exists, teachers must teach real Standard English" (Sledd 1985), he considers it "merely barbarous to say that people, who, through no fault of their own, have had no chance or even no desire to learn the grapholect, will be forever denied economic opportunity and social acceptance". For all its barely realized potential and power as a strong ally of universal literacy and successful communication, SL is thus equally capable of being used to perpetuate, very often aggravate, the patently destructive socio-

economic disparities. Nor need it be true that SLs are used to defend privileges or perpetrate wrongs only in the developed countries of the West. Their use to serve many socially divisive and economically exploitative ends appears in fact to be both commoner and more consequential in many parts of the developing world. For those who possess it, SL is power which can be, and in truth often is, used as much for evil as for good within and across the nation-states in most corners of the world.

I. (iii) For English or other international languages of wide currency(LWCs) there are yet other perspectives. One of these is of the growing reality and mounting concern that the upholding and maintenance of SL(s)has begun to pose challenges - in politics, in language planning and, above all, in language pedagogy, which demand resources far in excess of what is available especially in large and economically less developed countries of the third world. Especially in countries where LWCs have to be taught and learnt mainly, often exclusively, through the schooling systems, entirely new problems - educational and socio-political, present additional challenges. All these are true today in large parts of Asia or Africa where the English language has assumed obvious centrality for reasons of both history and of current need.

History has made the English language almost native to some of these countries. At the same time however a shared past of unequal partnerships, of economic exploitation and political domination, has left behind mixed memories and lingering suspicion. It has mothered a degree of mistrust as much for the English language as for those who left it behind as a much needed and highly valued educational and administrative resource.

The English language of today is, in most such countries, by far the openest window on to the outside world and, at least arguably, it has come to stay as the most powerful language of higher learning and scientific scholarship. In all such countries it is also a main if not the only language of law and legislation, politics and privilege, trade and commerce. On the other hand, the English language of today is also viewed as the repository of a culture, modes of living and systems of human behaviour which are manifestly at variance with aspects of established tradition, life styles and value systems in many of these countries. Very often its ascendance among influential sections of the society is viewed as a threat to social stability, racial harmony and political order. The cumulative result of all this is that the English language and more particularly the question of standards in its teaching, learning and use have become tangled with issues and attitudes which are political as much as they are educational, sociolinguistic no less than they are economic, ethical even more than they are cultural.

II. The idea of an anthology of invited papers on languages and standards began in the above stated understanding of the complex nature of this subject. It began too in the view that at least in the case of LWCs in general and the English language in particular, it had become necessary to deliberately bring into the dialogue various linguistic and pedagogic perspectives and points of view not just because in the 1990s, "notions such as English is the Englishman's gift and the language remains fundamentally 'ours' etc." are best seen as "parochial and naive" and not only because today "they do not correspond to linguistic realities and they can do nothing but harm to the cause of human relationships and international harmony" (Quirk 1968), but because what English is taught and how much,how well and how it is learnt are all issues no less significant and no less contentious in most of Southeast Asia or Asia as a whole than they are in the English speaking countries of the world.

II. (i) A position paper on the subject was prepared. In it I outlined a few current concerns and controversies on SLs and some recent thinking on language standards. The paper also focussed a few issues that have arisen in the context of the expanding roles and growing relevance of English in parts of Asia. Copies of the paper together with a tentative list of possible topics of current interest were sent to a number of scholars with an invitation to write on a theme of their choice. Twelve of the fifteen papers included in this anthology were received in response.

Of the twelve papers, one - 'Liberation Linguistics and the Quirk Concern' by Prof. Braj Kachru, appeared to me to raise a set of issues which, as well as expressing a studied view of English(es)in the world, stood clearly opposed to another scholarly viewpoint forcefully expressed in at least two recent conference papers by Prof. (Sir) Randolph Quirk. I therefore wrote to Quirk asking (a) for his permission to include the two papers in this volume and (b) if he would like to react to the above paper. His two papers, viz. 'The Question of Standards in the International use of English' and 'Language varieties and Standard language', his 'note' in response to Kachru's and Kachru's response to his 'note' also form part of this volume. But Kachru's above paper, it seemed to me, stood in a complementary relationship with another, viz. 'World Englishes and Applied Linuistics' which he had just published in the United States. I therefore got his permission to include that paper also in this anthology.

This anthology thus consists of 15 papers, Quirk's 'note' and Kachru's 'response' to that note.

II. (ii) I have divided the anthology into three sections each of which can be said to roughly reflect the dominance of one of the three major focuses found in its title, viz. issues, attitudes and case-studies. The division is not meant to suggest however that the papers in any of the three sections look exclusively at only one aspect or that they deliberately leave out of consideration one or another of the thematic trio. Apart from making for a neater organisation, this division into sections will, it is hoped, make it easier for the reader to grasp a slice of the total reality by placing its sub-themes and companion papers in a labelled section. Whereas, for example, the papers in the 'case-studies' section approach the subject from the vantage point and peculiarities of language use in one particular country, those in the 'issues' section may focus comparable problems but seek support in not one but several climates or contexts of language use.

III. The six papers in Section I deal with some major issues related to languages and standards.

Paper 1 - Asmah Haji Omar's 'Standard Language: Its Emergence and Choice' makes use of several insightful examples from Malaysia to explore the processes and illuminate the choices that lead up to the emergence of a standard language. Of particular interest should be the six 'theoretical overviews' she arrives at as a result of her analysis. All of these may or may not, in equal measure, be found relevant in the contexts of other languages - regional, national or global but they should interest everyone who has a stake in language study and/or linguistic pedagogy.

In his paper 'Levels of Consciousness in the Knowledge of Language' John E Joseph takes the view that consciousness of language is a cultural universal which forms the basis of both language standards and standard languages. Making use of Stephen Krashen's binary distinction between acquisition and learning, he argues that standard languages "must be learned" and "are unlikely to be acquired". He also takes modern linguistics to task for rejecting this cultural universal in whose reemergence he sees much hope and little doubt.

John Honey in 'The concept of 'standard English' in first and second language contexts' singles out 20 different markers of standardness to discuss some of the issues that arise in the use of English language primarily but not exclusively as a mother-tongue in Britain. The issues that Honey raises clearly impinge upon this language's global roles and relevance and also on the question of standards in its use as a second or foreign language.

In 'Standards in World Englishes' Larry E Smith discusses the essentials of successful communication for speakers and listeners and the harm that gets done by wrong attitudes, unwarranted beliefs and the failure to appreciate some linguistic and many non-linguistic aspects of communication in global English.

Sandra Lee McKay's 'Variation in English: What Role for Education?' makes use of data and facts unearthed in several earlier studies, mainly though not exclusively in the USA to point out that educational systems can have an enabling rather than a directing role in language use.

In 'Correctness in English' Alan Davies looks at the teaching and learning of English in three different contexts, viz., for learners of EFL, of dialects and of advanced writing. Through a careful and critical analysis of literature found relevant to each context, Davies establishes the need to pay specific attention to some hitherto neglected but enduring aspects of writing especially at the advanced writer's level.

III. (i) Section II includes five country-specific case studies. The first, Susan Kaldor's 'Standard Australian English as a second language and a second dialect' examines and illustrates the varied roles of Standard Australian English with particular reference to its uses in second language or 'second dialect' teaching. She not only offers insights into the features that make it different but also looks at the pedagogic challenges and research needs that require attention in each major area where the dialect is used.

In his paper 'The Philippine Variety of English and the Problem of Standardization' Andrew Gonzalez analyses some features of Philippine English, in both its spoken and written forms. The paper makes use of the analysis to explore the current state of the standard variety of the language which, as he shows it, is "in a state of flux."

Based on a study of written English in Malaysia, Irene Wong's 'Models for Written English in Malaysia' addresses the question of a model or models which can serve as a viable target for teaching English as a second/foreign language in that country. It uses both (socio)linguistic and educational data to argue that the day when "Malaysian English can be a viable candidate for the pedagogical model" in that country "is not in the foreseeable future."

Anne Pakir in her 'The status of English and the Question of 'Standard' in Singapore: A Sociolinguistic Perspective'explores the use of English in the Republic of Singapore. Although she finds that standard Singapore English is "close to that of English spoken in the Inner Circle" and can therefore "be considered Standard English", she does not rule out a place for the non-standard variety in contexts or for purposes where it contributes to effective communication.

Makhan L Tickoo's 'Stakeholders and Standards: Englishes for Tomorrow's India' makes use of an essentially educational perspective to address the question of suitable standard(s) of English in tomorrow's India. He takes as his starting point the need for the English language to serve the interests of all those millions whose lives are,directly or indirectly, influenced by the language's use and abuse in that country in order to outline the main points of an approach to the design of an alternative model for English language teaching in the schooling system of that country.

III. (ii) Section III 'English in the World: Some Issues and Attitudes' comprises four papers - two each by Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru which are followed by a 'note' by the former and a 'response' by the latter. A possible sectional title for it would have been 'The Quirk-Kachru controversy', since it brings together under one cover these two eminent scholars' different attitudes to and arguments for and against a universal standard as a viable model for English in the contemporary world. Such a title would have failed however to suggest that what makes these papers significant in the 1990s, giving them both topicality and appeal, is not just that they provide insightful analyses of some major issues in the politics, planning and pedagogy of world English(es) but that they bring together a great deal of scholarly depth and humane understanding to several (socio-) linguistic, ethico-educational and socio-political aspects of language and standards.

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Makhan Lal Tickoo

January 1991

SECTION I

ISSUES IN THEORY AND PEDAGOGY

Standard Language: Its Emergence and Choice
Asmah Haji Omar

Levels of Consciousness In The Knowledge of Language
Joseph E John

The concept of 'Standard English' in first and second language contexts
John Honey

Standards in World Englishes
Larry E Smith

Variation In English: What Role for Education?
Sandra Lee McKay

Correctness In English
Alan Davies

Standard Language: Its Emergence and Choice

Asmah Haji Omar

0.0 Introduction

Much has been written about the necessity of having a standard variety for a particular language. There has also been a great deal of literature on the emergence of a particular variety to be the standard language for a multidialectal language community.

This paper attempts to look at the various types of choice or rather emergence of the standard model. Although examples are mainly drawn from Malaysia, it is most probable that such processes may also occur in other speech communities.

1.0 How does a standard language Come About?

When we talk about the choice of standard language, we imply that there is a conscious planning in the selection of a language variety to be the standard language for the community concerned. While this is true in some cases, it may not be so for others. In the latter case, the choice, as it were, may be one which is not deliberate but incidental in nature. As such, the term "choice" may not be appropriate at all.

On the basis of the "deliberate" and "non-deliberate" nature of the rise of the standard language, two main models can be drawn: one which has risen by a deliberate choice, and the other one that is incidental in nature.

2.0 Incidental Choice of Standard Language

Most standard languages have emerged through this type of process. This means that there is a single local variety which is taken to be the norm or the standard form of communication by the language community concerned.

What happens here is that the language becomes the model of correct and prestigious usage without so much as a discussion or asking for a consensus from speakers. The propulsion, as it were, of this particular dialect is made possible by situations existing or events occurring in the life of the community concerned, such as the presence of a traditional ruling power, political and administrative centralisation, the rise of modern education and an intelligentsia, and the rise of the written language and the language of mass media.

2.1 Tradition and the Role of the Ruling Power

The role of the traditional ruling power, such as the aristocracy, had been significant in bringing about a variety that was considered prestigious and which for this reason was taken as the norm for correct use and usage. This was the case with the emergence of standard varieties in the various Malay states in Peninsular Malaysia.

Before the formation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, each of the nine Malay states (Perlis, Kedah, Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan) were separate little kingdoms with their own forms of administration. Linguistically speaking, each had its network of local speech varieties, above which there was a "supervariety", and this was the one that centred around the ruling class - the royalty and the noble houses.

If the language of the royal court was the norm, it was the norm in correct and refined language usage in its proper context of use. Besides, the language of literacy was confined to a selected few - the aristocrats and the court teachers of religion. With this situation, it is not surprising to see a great deal of affinity, in terms of grammar and lexicon of the language, between written language and that used in verbal communication in the royal courts.

Each state in Peninsular Malaysia is situated in its own dialect region. This means that the standard language is a variety that bears the characteristics of the regional dialect concerned. For instance, the standard Malay of Kedah is one that is very much characterised by the features of the Kedah regional dialect. The same applies to the standard varieties of the other Malay states, such as those of Johor, Kelantan, Terengganu, etc.

The important role of the ruling power in the spread of the standard languages may be seen in proportion to the geographical expansion of its hegemony. The norms of its language were taken wherever it went. No royal or governmental decree was needed for the use of the variety as model.

Although nothing has been found in written records on the Melaka Malay empire of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the variety chosen as the norm in the regions which were ruled by Melaka, it can be assumed that there must have been some conformity to the variety used by the Melaka people. This assumption is made on the analogy of what had taken place in the non-linguistic aspects of culture. The Sejarah Melayu (the Malay Annals) written in the seventeenth century and which consists largely of a description of life at the Melaka court, alludes at many places to the fact that the mores and folkways of Melaka became the model for other Malay regions to follow.

The book on the traditional customs of the Malay courts, the Adat Raja-Raja Melayu ("Customs and Traditions of Malay King"), is largely a description of the customs of the Melaka royal court. In this volume, various rules of language use and usage had been laid down for speech events when members of the royalty and the aristocratic class were involved. It is also specifically mentioned in the Adat Raja-Raja Melayu that the rules practised in Melaka had been adopted by those Malay courts that came under the influence of Melaka.

The centrality of the royal court in the birth and life of the standard language is also evident in the case of standard English in England. We are told that it is based on the dialect of Southern England and that is where the royal court is. The fact that King's or Queen's English is taken to be the supermodel for language usage in England is a clear attestation to the role of the royal court in the establishment of linguistic norms.

Examples can also be cited from Japan and Thailand where the norms move in tandem with their royal speakers through geographical space. It has been mentioned in a popular journal that the new emperor of Japan, Emperor Akihito, has taken the move to simplify the language of the royal court of Japan to be closer to the people. If this is so, then the existing norms will undergo a change.

Although the focal point of standard language is the royalty and the aristocratic community, however when reference is made to the standard language, it is always the geographical location of the ruling power that provides the attribute to the nomenclature of that variety. Hence, standard English is not the English of Buckingham Palace or Windsor Castle but rather that of Southern England. In the same way, the standard language of Kedah Malay is not that of Anak Bukit where the royal palace is located, but rather that of Alor Setar which is a larger region which encompasses Anak Bukit.

2.2 Political and Administrative Centralisation

The merging of political and administrative units may also be a potent factor in the rise and evolution of a standard language. Thus situations may exist in a context where separate states and kingdoms unite to form a single power and where their linguistic disparity is that of a dialectal nature. In such cases, each political or administrative unit has already been in possession of its standard variety which may be different from that of another.

The unification of these different political and administrative entities entails a great deal of communication in spoken and written language, specifically one that is done at the official level. It is through this channel that a standard variety for all the units gradually arises, a variety that is supraregional in nature. This was the case of the rise of the standard variety of Malay when the Malay sultanates in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits Settlements of Penang and

Melaka joined together to form the Federation of Malaya in 1948. It can be said that in this particular case the process of the emergence of the standard variety had been going on before the formation of the Federation as the states and the Straits Settlements had been in close contact with each other long before that date. The formation of the Federation of Malaya provided a formal passage for the rise of the standard language of a supraregional nature.

2.3 Modern Education

By modern education here is meant the type of education obtained at the school, delivered by trained teachers via a set curriculum. This type of education stipulates the existence of sets of norms for various activities which are followed by teachers in imparting knowledge and skills to the pupils.

Linguistic skills are no exception to this stipulation. As language is not just a subject matter taught in the school but one that is at the same time a tool for the acquisition of knowledge and other skills at the school, the necessity for language standardisation becomes greater for the spoken as well as for the written language.

The need for the standardisation of the written language is also greatly motivated by the publication of textbooks which are used throughout the region concerned. This need becomes greater when the schools are co-ordinated by a central body such that their activities including examinations are centrally administrated.

As for spoken language, it may be argued that pupils of a particular region can understand better when spoken to in their home dialect than in one that is otherwise. However, centralisation of the school system may require a single set of norms for the oral language especially for the purpose of oral as well as written examinations. Hence, a standard variety is indeed a requisite for the school.

This mode of the emergence of the standard language, that is via formal, centralised education, is usually consequential to centralisation at the governmental level. The rise of the supraregional standard variety of Malay in Malaysia may also be attributed to this mode. The same can also be said of the emergence of the standard variety of bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia.

2.4 The Rise of an Intelligentsia

An intelligentsia in a particular linguistic community may play an important role in the emergence of a standard language. This applies to the spoken as well as the written language. With the former it is the intelligentsia's style and enunciation while with the latter it is writings produced by the intelligentsia that become the model for ordinary people to follow.

An illustration for this mode of emergence can be seen in the emergence of the standard variety of the Iban language of Sarawak. Iban, like other natural languages, has a number of regional dialects. However, the language had not had a written form until the 1950s when the Borneo Literature Bureau, now no longer extant, embarked on the collection of Iban folklore and Iban customs and traditions. Most of the IQ people involved in this activity were those from the Second Division. As such, the norms in their dialect entered written Iban which was being nurtured.

At the same time, the Iban who became school educated, viz. those who attended the English school, were mostly those from the Second Division, living closer to Kuching where the schools were, compared to those living in the Third Division and so on. These were the people who later joined the government service and formed an elite group of educated Iban.

When the teaching of the Iban language was later introduced in the school, the choice naturally fell on the dialect of the Second Division. This choice was butteressed by the fact that the two early dictionaries of Iban, or Sea Dayak as the language was then known, which have become the basis for later dictionaries, were compilations of the lexicon of this dialect. When Iban managed to get into the print and electronic media, again it was the Second Division dialect that was the natural choice.

As for the Malay language of Malaysia, the intelligentsia factor also had a role to play especially in contributing to the emergence of the supraregional standard variety. This role was particularly pertinent as far as the written language was concerned.

2.5 The Media

To the media, as is the case with the school, the existence of a standard norm is a dire necessity. A standard language means economy of language use and efficiency in communication. William Caxton, the earliest English printer, towards the end of the fifteenth century realised the importance of the choice of a single variety for his press. He chose the variety that became the basis of modern Standard English.

The role of the press was also significant in stabilising the variety of written Malay. As the press first entered Peninsular Malaysia through Singapore in the south, and the Malay dialect of Singapore was also that of Johor, it was this dialect that became the model for the language of printed materials. The press came earlier than the formation of the Federation of Malaya. As such, when a supraregional variety was required for the new Federation for its school education and administration, the Johor dialect became the basis for the supraregional norm.

Malay as a language of the electronic media also took the southern route, viz. via Singapore and Johor. The first radio services in the peninsula and Singapore were stationed in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. The latter locality happens to be in the same dialect area as that of Singapore and Johor. Furthermore, those carrying out duties as announcers and news readers were mostly from the southern part of the Peninsula. These two factors, locality and personnel, determined the choice of the standard variety which fell on the southern variety. Thus the southern style of pronunciation became the norm for Radio Malaya and later the northern states, Sabah and Sarawak. It was also this variety of spoken language that became the variety for use in schools and in official functions.

3.0 Planned Choice

What is meant by planned choice is the process of selection which entails at least a formal discussion before arriving at a consensus, with or without a formal body that determines this choice.

The effort of the Indonesia - Malaysia Language Council (Majlis Bahasa Indonesia - Malaysia) in forming a standard orthography for bahasa Indonesia and bahasa Malaysia can be considered as an effort towards a conscious or planned choice of a standard orthography in 1972. This type of choice is also seen in the Council's continuing effort in planning for a standardised set of technical terms for various branches of the sciences.

The work of this Council, now known as the Brunei Darussalam - Indonesia - Malaysia Language Council, can be looked at as an effort at standardising certain aspects of language - orthography and technical terms - and not as an effort to choose a whole variety of language. In fact, the parties concerned have always been aware that a single standard variety for the three countries involved is beyond human achievement, apart from the fact that it is an unnecessary objective.

Standardisation of single aspects of language may also be seen in the effort to evolve a new standard pronunciation by the TV3, a private TV concern in Malaysia. The basis for this pronunciation is the spelling system, because the people who mooted this new pronunciation have been of the opinion that the spelling system is a phonetic one, and this being supposedly the case warrants the principle that says pronunciation must be in accordance with the spelling. In actual fact the bahasa Malaysia spelling is graphemic, not phonetic, in nature. As such, the principle of pronouncing the word according to the way it is spelt not only deviates from the rule of pronunciation vis-a-vis orthography, but also generates facetious ways of pronouncing words.

Planned choice may also apply to the choice of a whole variety to be the standard language. An illustration of this is the attempts by the Kadazan or Dusun of Sabah in the choice of a standard norm among the many dialects in their community.

Like Iban previously discussed, Kadazan or Dusun has only been put to writing very recently. The first dictionary of Kadazan was compiled by a European, and this compilation began at the time when he was imprisoned by the Japanese in Sabah during the Second World War.

There had also been efforts to collect folk tales in the language, but the results cannot compare with those of the Iban collection in terms of quantity. However, the variety of Kadazan spoken in the Penampang area, viz. the area around Kota Kinabalu, also known as the Tangara Kadazan, has been in use in the media for the last three decades or so. In the print media, this dialect has been the language of the dailies - at least two influential dailies in Sabah are trilingual - Malay, English and Kadazan. In the electronic media, it is the Tangara Kadazan that is taken by Radio Malaysia of Sabah to represent the whole Kadazan/Dusun group.

Towards the end of 1988, the Minister of Education of Malaysia made an announcement that Kadazan could be taught as pupils' own language (POL) in the national schools, beginning from 1989. This meant that the schools could teach the language to its own speakers on condition that there was a request by at least fifteen pupils.

The Kadazan/Dusun community had been waiting for this for a long time. When the announcement was made the educationists quickly took the task of preparing teaching materials to be ready for January 1989, the commencement of the school calendar for the year. Taking for granted that the Tangara Kadazan was the accepted variety, as there had been no protest against its choice to represent Kadazan/Dusun in the media over the years, they wrote the materials in this dialect.

Their belief in the acceptability of Tangara Kadazan was shattered when the Kadazan/Dusun community started to debate the issue. As a result, the Kadazan Cultural Association towards the end of January 1989 invited representatives from all the dialect groups for a discussion, which it was hoped would lead to a consensus on the variety chosen. It was seen that although by the rule of efficiency and dialect spread, the Tangara dialect would have been the best choice, no consensus was reached after the three-day dialogue. Everybody appeared to want their own dialect to be the standard language!

Here is a case where choice by conscious planning has failed. If it had been left to the incidental mode as in the case of Malay where the written language and the media were the silent determiners of the variety to be chosen, the Kadazan/Dusun would have already seen their language taught in the school. As it is, it seems that the elevation of the status of the language as a school subject has to be somewhat delayed.

The Kadazan/Dusun case also shows that a "democratic attitude" which seeks a consensus across the board may not always be a solution to the problem, even in a situation where a "superior" variety is already in existence. This case proves further that a choice, as it were, has to emerge gradually and in an unobtrusive manner.

In the discussion among the Kadazan/Dusun dialect representatives, two propositions were put forward which were found to be impractical. One was to go back to the whole community for a decision via a voting process. The second was to create a variety that would be acceptable to all by merging features of all the dialects such that the resultant variety belongs to everyone but is identifiable with none.

The first proposition was impractical for the simple reason that the majority of the people would have no idea what a standard language was all about. Voting would be done for the conservation and elevation of one's own dialect, rather than for the purpose of choosing a variety that was efficient in functioning as the tool for interdialectal communication.

The second proposition would involve a process of "selecting, chopping and patching" elements of disparate dialects. Besides becoming a game of artificiality, it could turn out to be a horrendous task. First and foremost, a list of criteria would have to be set up for the selection of a particular feature from a particular variety. This list may be drawn with certain considerations in mind, such as aesthetics, simplicity versus complexity (of systems and structures), comprehensivity, and so on. As those involved in the selection would have to be representatives of the dialect groups, they would be more guided by their value judgement of their own dialect vis-a-vis other dialects, rather than by an objective consideration.

Even if the selection were to materialise, and a particular part of a system of a particular dialect was chosen to be patched to those of others, the result may prove to be artificial in nature. This may not engender the acceptability that was the objective of the whole exercise.

4.0 Some Theoretical Overviews on the Emergence of the Standard Language

A few theoretical overviews can be drawn from the above discussion.

Firstly, the emergence of a variety as the standard language of a particular community is by evolution, rather than by conscious planning. Conscious planning is applicable when it comes to the standardisation of particular aspects of the language, such as its orthography and lexicon.

Secondly, the acceptability of a standard language is one that is correlatable to the function and spread of the variety concerned, rather than one that depends on a decree by particular authority extraneous to the language.

Thirdly, the emergence of the standard language is determined by factors at the top, viz. the influential elements in the society, for example the ruling class (inclusive of the aristocracy) and the intelligentsia, as well as factors that disseminate and stabilise language, viz. the media.

Fourthly, a standard language is one that is identifiable with a natural system of speech of a particular community, although in its evolution it deviates from this particular system, rather than one that is artificially created.

Fifthly, the naturalness of a standard language does not only lie in the variety selected as a whole but also applies to particular aspects of its system.

Sixthly, the rise of the standard language may not always be due to individual factors but rather to a cluster of factors which have a mutual influence on one another.

These six overviews on the emergence of the standard language may not be exhaustive. There may be others which can be drawn from data from speech communities in other parts of the world.

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LEVELS OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGE

John E. Joseph

1. 'Consciousness of Language' as A Cultural Universal

This paper takes as its premise the idea, discussed at length in Joseph (1987), that the study of language standards and standard languages must make reference to a different level of **consciousness** from that associated with the sort of 'naive' language production in which the question of standards does not arise. In common metaphorical usage, the level of consciousness implicated in language standards and standard languages may be said to be 'higher' than that of naive language production.

It is no simple matter to discuss the relationship between language and consciousness. First of all, what we understand as 'consciousness' is based largely upon language, and vice-versa. For present purposes, let us take **consciousness of language** to mean the activity of **reflecting** upon the use of language by oneself and others. Such reflection can take many forms, from taboo to rhyme to folk etymology to prescriptive rules to Government-and-Binding Theory. All of these are expressions of linguistic consciousness.

Consciousness of language as so defined is a **universal** feature of human cultures.[1] It appears to be a derivative activity, stemming from the interaction of two other independent systems: the language faculty, and a general faculty for reflective thinking. But there is no rational basis for supposing that its derivative nature diminishes its significance. Indeed, we have every reason to believe that the interaction of these two systems shapes and reshapes each of them in fundamental ways.[2]

Not all of the various manifestations of consciousness of language mentioned above exist in every culture. It is probably true that in every speech community there is some awareness of how **well** certain people use the language relative to others. At least, the total absence of such quality judgments is difficult to imagine, so long as any **variation** exists within the speech community; and variation is unquestionably a universal feature of human speech. But the particular form such value judgments take varies from culture to culture. And within any given culture, the degree of linguistic consciousness is variable from individual to individual, both in overall intensity and in the attention given to particular aspects.

2. Linguistics and the Marginalization of Consciousness

As a cultural universal, consciousness of language is on a par with religion. Here again, the overall phenomenon is universal, yet particular forms of expression vary among cultures and among individuals within a culture. Atheism, for instance, is forbidden by some cultures (e.g. European culture at least to the mid-16th century), permitted in others (e.g. contemporary Western European cultures), officially imposed in still others (e.g. communist cultures). Similarly, within some cultures there have developed subcultures which deny the validity of consciousness of language. Instead, they treat language as an idealized system, disembodied from the speakers who 'know' and 'use' it.

The most prominent such subculture is the discipline which has been regarded since the early 19th century as 'scientific linguistics'. It is my own discipline. As a 'scientific linguist', I am part of a small minority of those persons involved professionally with language. Judgments regarding quality of language have traditionally been excluded from scientific linguistic inquiry. It has been assumed that only 'descriptive' linguistics, which takes as its domain the **unconscious** knowledge of language, can be studied in an objective and scientific way. With rare exceptions, prescriptivism and other forms of linguistic consciousness have been excluded from serious linguistic inquiry.[3]

This is, however, a completely irrational position.[4] There is no a priori reason why any facet of human behavior, individual or cultural, cannot be studied in an objective and scientific way. The marginalization of 'conscious linguistics' has been an **ideological** development masquerading as a **scientific** one -- though it is not clear to what extent the two types are ever really distinguishable (see Joseph 1990a, Joseph and Taylor 1990).[5]

I do not challenge the idea that the conscious and unconscious modes of linguistic knowledge need to be studied **separately**. The language 'system' is a fascinating object of study, and this study should continue to be pursued in an 'autonomous' fashion, though ideally with a greater awareness on the part of linguists of the metaphorical and metaphysical nature of their enterprise.[6]

What I do not accept, however, is the idea that consciousness of language cannot **also** be studied in an objective and scientific way. Not only is such a study possible, but it is **necessary** if autonomous linguistics is ever to be truly 'scientific', rather than internally dependent upon its own metaphors and rhetoric (see further Joseph 1989a). By marginalizing standardization to the point of ignoring it, 'mainstream' linguistics has put itself in the unfortunate position of mixing language production from different levels of consciousness within its data base, and treating them implicitly as though they were identical (see also Grace 1990 and Romaine 1989). Such indiscriminate contamination of data, such disregard for the most fundamental aspects of human thought, run counter to everything the notion of 'science' has ever stood for.

3. Overview of Standardization Theory

The theory or model of language standardization put forth in Joseph (1987) has as its goal to understand what standard languages are and how they come into existence. Distinguishing between **language standards** and **standard languages** allows us to disambiguate two related but very different processes usually referred to by the single term 'language standardization'. Language standards are the normative judgments made about a particular language by whoever be the arbiters within a particular culture, and enforced by persons such as teachers, editors, and grammarians. The standard language is a language for which a significant body of such standards has been produced; before this happened, it was one dialect among others within a 'language' conceived as a system of related dialects, and for some reason (usually political or socio-economic, but sometimes also literary) this particular dialect's prestige has outstripped that of its rivals. The **emergence** of a dialect to standard status may be deliberately **engineered** by partisans of the dialect, or it may be merely **circumstantial**.

The creation of language standards for a particular standard language is not arbitrary. The standards are usually based upon a pre-existing model. Greek provided the model for the standardization of Latin, and Latin was the model for the modern European standards (French, Italian, Hungarian, etc). Some of these languages would eventually serve as models for standardizing the languages of peoples whom the Europeans conquered and whose lands they colonized.[7]

The first phase of standardization is one of **elaboration**: new elements are borrowed into the arising standard from its model. Much of the elaboration process takes place through translation from the model language. Elaboration may be **remedial**, to compensate for a perceived incapacity for expression, or **cosmetic**, if borrowed even though a native element is available. Elaboration continues to be the order of the day until such time as the language is perceived as sufficiently 'eloquent', i.e. capable of functioning in all the genres and modes of the model language.

At this point the balance may shift in the direction of **control**, the desire to 'regulate' the language by hierarchizing rival modes of expression and attempting to suppress those which wind up low on the hierarchy. Control is the domain of teachers, editors, grammarians, language academies, etc. It is motivated by, on the one hand, a very rational desire to keep the linguistic system economical (a problem in the wake of elaboration), but on the other hand by a rather unrealistic desire to eliminate language change. To the extent that it does succeed in keeping the standard 'pure' of changes taking place naturally in its vernacular dialect base, control leads to the standard eventually becoming a 'classical' language -- in other words, to its 'death'.

In Joseph (1987) I argue against the traditional structuralist treatment of language standardization as a process that is implicitly universal or 'polygenetic' (having several independent historical origins). Rather, we should distinguish between the general aspects of linguistic consciousness discussed in 1 above, which **are** universal, and the specific series of developments which produces a standard language in the current internationally accepted sense of the term, which instead represents one particular, non-universal set of choices from the larger, universal set of possibilities.

In this view, language standardization represents a culture-specific, **monogenetic** process cum ideology that has its origins in the Greco-Roman cultural tradition and has subsequently been transmitted throughout Europe and thence to most of the rest of the world. In particular, several facets of the Western concept of standard languages can be traced to the specific influence of alphabetic writing, which itself has a monogenetic origin, having been developed only in Greece, and transmitted thence to wherever else it has subsequently existed.

Here again it is essential to disambiguate between two entities which have been misleadingly thrown together: the **universal** roots of linguistic quality judgments, and the particular **historical** product of Western culture that has been alternately imposed upon and borrowed by other cultures subjected to Western influence. This is necessary not only to clarify our understanding of the historical process, but to undo a notion of Western superiority covertly hidden away within the polygenetic view. For if it is in fact true that any language, left to its own devices, might eventually develop the distinctive features and accoutrements of a standard language in the accepted Western sense -- and given that our definition of a standard language is based on the Western European prototype -- any comparison of Western and non-Western standard languages is inevitably going to make the former appear to be more highly developed than the latter. But by **historicizing** the process which in the structuralist tradition was treated as ahistorical, we can interpret degrees of standardization as they ought to be interpreted, as having nothing to do with cultural 'advancement' in any sort of general and objective sense, but merely with degree of historical progress along the path of acculturation.

4. Modeling the linguistic consciousness: Krashen's 'Monitor'

At least one significant discourse about levels of consciousness in linguistic production has been underway for over a decade, in the field known variously as 'applied linguistics' and 'second-language acquisition'. It offers at least a partial framework for a similar discourse in the realm of language standardization.[8]

Stephen Krashen's model of foreign language learning, which has been very influential in America since the late 1970s, posits that adult language learning

takes place at two levels, one basically unconscious and the other basically conscious (see Krashen 1981, 1982, 1985). Krashen uses the term **learning** specifically for the conscious mode, wherein rules are acquired through study, memorization, and so on. As for the unconscious process of creating rules in order to comprehend spoken and written input, Krashen calls this **acquisition**.

Acquisition is the same process by which children obtain their unconscious knowledge of their native language. They hear it spoken around them, and unconsciously infer rules as to its operation. These rules are at first often overly general, but are refined over time until they correspond in most details to the rules of the adults around them. Remaining idiosyncracies are likely to be leveled out through contact with other children, but a small number will instead survive and be spread among other children. This is the major source of language change -- the phenomenon which language standardization is largely instantiated in order to stop (see 3 above).

Krashen's critique of foreign language teaching has centered around its insufficient concern with acquisition, the 'natural' process which leads to fluent, native-like language production. Instead, classroom language teaching has traditionally focused on conscious learning. In Krashen's model, 'learned' knowledge does not contribute directly to fluent language production, although some leakage from learning to acquisition is possible. Rather, this body of consciously attained knowledge acts as what he calls a **Monjtor**. It is as if the conscious mind 'listens' to the spontaneous output of the unconscious rule system before it is actually uttered, checking it for errors. While some self-correction is good, an overactive Monitor will impede fluent language production. Downplaying the role of the Monitor has thus been Krashen's primary concern.

In marginalizing conscious linguistic processes, Krashen stands squarely in the tradition of scientific linguistics as practiced from the early 19th century to the present day.[9] Nevertheless, the simple fact of having opened up a discourse on language and consciousness represents an important step forward. The question at hand is whether Krashen's model of linguistic consciousness can be adapted to the domain of language standardization, and if so, whether it has anything substantial to offer. The following discussion will focus therefore upon points of contact and divergence between the two domains, followed by some considerations of a practical nature regarding application of the model in education.

The most obvious obstacle to adaptation lies in the fact that Krashen's model is designed to account for second-language acquisition beyond the 'critical age', the moment around puberty when, whether for physiological or (more likely) psychological reasons, most people lose the ability to acquire languages in a native-like fashion. With standard languages and language standards, on the other hand, we are primarily interested in their effect on people's knowledge of

their **native** language, an effect that may begin in the very earliest stages of language production and that, thanks to universal education, is directly aimed at from early childhood through the 'critical age' and beyond.

In other words, education in the standard language consists of helping (or forcing) children to develop a sort of Monitor for their own native language production, to check for elements of their native dialect which do not correspond to the rules of the standard language. Because of this, adults come to second-language learning with a Monitor already intact; it is reasonable to assume that they set about the tasks of second-language learning in very much the same way as they went about their standard-language education in their native tongue.

'Native' poses an obvious terminological problem here. It is in the nature of language standards and standard languages to stand as a barrier to 'natural' language acquisition, which, as explained in 3 above, inevitably brings 'natural' language change. Language standards are that part of standard languages which must be **learned,** which are unlikely to be acquired. It is precisely because of their difficulty of acquisition -- their 'unnaturalness' to the linguistic system -- that they are able to function as 'standards' at all. For this reason, the standard language is never really, fully 'native' (i.e. the 'maternal' language in anything like a literal sense) to anyone.[10]

Adults, then, come to second-language learning with a Monitor already developed (well or poorly), but an unconscious acquisition faculty that has become weakly operative, either because of psychological barriers or physiological atrophy. Their goal is to reinvigorate their acquisition faculty, and to keep their Monitor under control lest it become an obstacle to fluent language production. Children, on the contrary, come to standard-language learning with no Monitor, but a fully operative acquisition faculty. Their goal is to develop a Monitor for the specific purpose of tempering their natural acquisition faculty with a body of socially codified rules. They can continue 'learning' elements of the standard language past the 'critical age', indeed throughout their lives, and 'leakage' from learning to acquisition can continue to take place, just as in second-language learning.

The Monitor can become a problem in standard-language learning, much as it can in second-language learning. It is by just such a view that we might account for the phenomenon of **hypercorrection,** where errors are generated by the overapplication of rules (e.g. English between you and I instead of between you and me.) Furthermore, overuse of the Monitor and excessive leakage from the Monitor into acquisition are likely to result in one's language being perceived as inappropriate, overly formal, stylistically dry, Latinate.

Language teachers have used Krashen's model to justify a shift of emphasis away from **achievement** tests, which evaluate how many discrete points one has learned, and toward **proficiency** tests, which evaluate globally how much one has acquired. Outside of the second-language domain, our perceptions of other

people's 'intelligence' is regularly based upon the 'standardness' of their language, as a result of what I call the **cognitive fallacy:** the implicit belief that standard-language use correlates with general cognitive ability. Willinsky (1986) has pointed out that North American school systems tend to reinforce this problem. Students who perform well on intelligence tests -- even on those which are supposedly more 'cognitive' and less language-dependent -- go into classes where they focus on free composition rather than grammar rules, i.e. language standards.[11] Students who perform poorly on such tests go instead into grammar classes. Thus, 'One group of students has had their attention directed to the avoidance of errors, an inducement to silence, while another was prompted to develop their voices, that they might be heard" (Willinsky 1986: 136). This is one of the mechanisms by which social stratifications are cemented and maintained, even by teachers who believe their mission to be quite the opposite.

The Monitor model has had proven success in convincing foreign-language teachers to adjust their methods and criteria of evaluation. It might well have similar success in getting other teachers to recognize standard-language ability for what it is: a learned capacity for the enforcement of socially codified rules that has little to do with any other cognitive abilities, and a potential impediment to free and full linguistic expression. At the same time, it embodies a cultural universal which it would be naive and irresponsible of us to imagine we can ignore.

If all the contributors to this volume agree on anything, it is surely that the goal of education should be the furtherance of social equality, not the maintenance or expansion of inqualities. This suggests that our educational systems should aim for a better balance between the 'standard' and the 'natural', between achievement and proficiency, between linguistically-dependent and independent measures of intelligence. The Monitor model offers a promising means of helping people understand the issues involved.[12]

5. Conclusion

Consciousness of language, a cultural universal, is the basis of language standards and standard languages. Unfortunately, modern linguistics has excluded consciousness of language from its sphere of inquiry. This exclusion had ideological and historical causes, and is not necessary for the scientificness of the linguistic enterprise, as is traditionally claimed. To the contrary, linguistics will never be truly scientific until this exclusion is undone. Krashen's model of acquisition and learning provides a useful basis for analyzing the different levels of consciousness of language that are involved in language standards and standard languages.

In 2 above, I drew a comparison between modern linguistics and atheism, both of which are founded upon the rejection of a cultural universal. It would seem (especially in light of recent events in Eastern Europe) that even in the case of official state atheism the religious element of culture never fully disappears. Either its place is taken by a sort of worship of the state, or else traditional religious beliefs persist beneath the surface to reemerge at a later time. Similarly, the forms of linguistic consciousness which linguists have banned from scientific inquiry are so deeply engrained in culture, in every culture, that their eventual reemergence is inevitable. Ideologies that run counter to cultural universals are no more likely to persist over time than are linguistic features which run counter to linguistic universals. They are, if you like, too highly 'marked'.

NOTES

(1) However, unlike the language faculty itself -- which is the human cultural universal par excellence -- consciousness of language has never been ascribed specific biological roots. That is, no one has suggested a 'language consciousness organ' innate in the human brain, in parallel with Chomsky's 'language organ'.

(2) The development of reflective thinking is so closely bound up with the development of language in the child that any attempt to study their interaction remains fraught with the danger of circular reasoning.

(3) The outstanding exceptions are Jespersen (1925); the work of several of the Czech members of the Prague Linguistic Circle, especially Havranek and Mukarovsky (see Joseph 1987 for references); and Kloss (1978 [1st ed. 1952]). A considerable number of structuralists, American as well as European, wrote occasional pieces on standardization in the 1950s and 1960s, but the subject lapsed back into obscurity with the rise of generative linguistics in the late 1960s and 1970s. Generativism, with its emphasis on innate aspects of language use, has marginalized the cultural and conscious aspects of language to a greater extent than any of its predecessors. If it is true that the study of standardization has returned to prominence in the 1980s, it has not been through the direct participation of any generativists, though something is owed to their fragmentation, which has had the effect of promoting greater diversity of thought within the field.

(4) Like many other irrational positions -- virgin birth and resurrection from the dead, for example -- this one serves as a 'test of faith'. Were this rejection of a cultural universal not so counter-intuitive, it could not serve so well as a litmus test for linguistic orthodoxy.

(5) The reasons for linguists' rejection of the conscious aspects of language production are complex, and one must resist oversimplifying them. Besides ideology, they have involved academic-political motivations which have themselves been largely excluded from linguistic historiography. The origins of the rejection were ideological: the earliest 'scientific' linguistics, the historical inquiry of the early 19th century, was part of the general Romantic movement and its desire to capture the essence of the National Spirit by delving backward into the language of the common folk. By mid-century, efforts were underway to restrict inquiry to 'untutored' dialects, rather than the urban, 'artificial' standard languages. (For further details, see Joseph 1987 and 1989b; also Note 10 below.) When the emphasis of linguistics shifted from diachrony to synchrony, the prejudice against consciousness of language remained intact, this time for academic-political reasons. When historically-trained linguists like William Dwight Whitney and Ferdinand de Saussure attempted to shift inquiry into a synchronic mode, they found themselves in a territory dispute with a powerful

rival, the long-established and deeply entrenched interests of psychology departments in American and European universities. Establishing the autonomy of linguistic inquiry necessitated a shift of emphasis away from anything like levels of consciousness which might appear to place language within the psychological domain, in favor of the social dimension of language (see Joseph 1990b).

(6) My own 'straight' linguistic work (to quote Scaglione 1989) maintains the necessary suspension of disbelief, the pretense that language as system **exists** in some kind of real, non-metaphorical, non-metaphysical, supra-individual way.

(7) Dozens of particular examples, involving all levels of language structure, are given in Joseph (1987).

(8) It is highly ironic that a supposedly 'applied' area should be possessed of a theory so far advanced over that of its 'theoretical' counterpart.

(9) To place him within a tradition already described as ideological and academic-political is not to pass judgment on the pedagogical value of his model, which is not at issue here. My own observation has been that Krashen's model has generally had a positive effect when used to achieve a better balance between the unconscious and conscious modes, but a negative effect when it has been taken beyond this to marginalize the conscious mode unduly.

(10) There is a danger here of falling into the trap of another Romantic notion, the idea that the unconscious mind is natural and pure, while the conscious mind is evil. Actually, this notion has the deepest possible roots in Western culture: in Judeo-Christianity, the 'original sin' of Adam and Eve consisted of eating from the Tree of **Knowledge**, for which act they were banished from Paradise. This notion may also play a part in the anti-conscious ideology of modern linguistics (see Note 5 above).

(11) Interestingly, these are also the students who are most likely to be placed in foreign-language classes. Since they are the ones who already have the best-developed Monitors in their 'native' standard, it is not surprising that overactive Monitors should be such a widespread problem among North American second-language learners.

(12) Again, the problem is achieving a **balance** without excessively minimizing the importance of the learned, conscious domain; the danger is that we linguists, to whom it logically falls to make this case to the educational establishment, have a two hundred years history of going overboard.

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The concept of 'standard English' in first and second language contexts

John Honey

For several decades now, standard languages have had a bad press, at least within the community of academic linguistics. They have been attacked as instruments of colonial oppression, of class exploitation, of racial injustice. And there have been those who would query whether standard varieties exist in any definable sense at all.

Against this background, it is important that we should remind ourselves of the main characteristic functions which respectively distinguish the standard and non-standard varieties of a language. In what follows, I write with reference to the characteristics of the standard and non-standard varieties of English as spoken as mother-tongue in Britain. My comparisons are not intended to suggest an absolute or 'either/or' distinction between the two categories, but rather to make a set of rough but pertinent generalisations.

(1) In English the standard variety (S) is multi-functional; non-standard (NS) varieties of the language have strictly limited functions. (2) Among the many functions of S are those which relate to its use as the language of formal education and for the processing of all the forms of information required in a modernised society, but it also can be, and is, used for purposes of informal personal relationships and, in certain contexts, to express forms of group solidarity. Among the limited but important functions of NS are its very obvious uses in intimate personal relationships and in expressing the solidarity of particular groups; it has specific limitations as a language of education. (3) S is available for use in the communication of both concrete and abstract meanings; NS is typically used for concrete rather than abstract meanings. (4) S is used for both written and spoken modes, NS is essentially used for the spoken mode. (5) S is used for formal styles of communication but is also used in informal styles; NS tends to be used only in informal styles. (6) Discourse in S is both planned and spontaneous; in NS it is usually spontaneous. (7) S is characterised by low redundancy, NS by a high proportion of redundancy. (8) An utterance in S tends to be explicit, in NS to be 'assumptive', in the sense that para-linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena are available to amplify the message and to signal the presence of shared assumptions unstated in the text. (9) The lexicon of S is vast, that of NS is by comparison very limited. (10) S carries notions of 'correctness', and with them the potential for linguistic insecurity for its speakers; NS carries little or no notion of 'correctness' and so, within its own system, a corresponding absence of linguistic insecurity. (11) S has a tendency to stability, e.g. in its

grammar; NS may have less stability. (12) S is more analytic; in NS, analysis is "a high-risk procedure". (13) Discourse in S may be characterised by a high degree of objectivity; in NS, such objectivity is less typical. (14) S is a host to linguistic parasites; NS is a parasite. (15) S can be used to express authority and power, as well as humility and social concern; NS is strong as the language of compassion but weak in achieving control in ways which might operationalise that compassion.

Above all, (16) S is codified, NS uncodifed, and, in consequence, (17) S can be both taught and learned, but NS is not in practice available to be formally taught. This makes (18) S inclusive and open, but NS exclusive and closed, and (19) S the language of the wider society, the mainstream, but NS the language of narrow particularism, what in other contexts we would see as the ghetto, the tribe, the in-group. (A 20th comparison is considered below.)

Several of the above comparisons are arguable, most need amplification or qualification, and I would not suggest they carry equal weight. But at any rate their collective import should redress the imbalance of recent discussions within linguistics about standard languages; moreover the above is only a selection of factors, and there are further comparisons which could be made which illustrate S's advantages. In general, S has shown itself to be more serviceable for a far wider range of functions than NS, though on the positive side we notice the strength of NS as a language of solidarity, and its relative advantage in not creating linguistic insecurity. Even the former of these, however, may be less admirable when we look at the value-systems of the forms of minority-group solidarity which NS is often used to express, which may include forms of racism, sexism, criminality, hostility to education, and so on. To those who claim that all languages and varieties are readily adaptable, and that there is no inherent reason why NS cannot be developed for use as the main vehicle for learning within formal education systems, we have to answer that part of the raison d'etre of some forms of NS is that they are the focus of anti-intellectualism or resistance to education, and that by adapting to perform educational or intellectual functions they would lose that raison d'etre.

Many of the characteristics listed derive from the important function of S as the language of literacy. It was one of my teachers at Cambridge, Professor Jack Goody, who with his collaborator Ian Watt was to initiate in 1968 a debate in the social sciences which has not yet run its course. The importance of their case was in pointing to the new possibilities for intellectual growth which had been opened up, historically, by the literate culture of ancient Greece, including a new kind of logical method, and new ways of classifying knowledge (Goody & Watt 1968). It was then the task of the American psychologist Jerome Bruner (1972) to show how the coming of written text had been the precondition for new forms of reflective thinking, and that these new forms have enormous potential effect in 'amplifying' thought processes that would otherwise remain limited in scope.

Further cognitive implications of literate language were postulated in the 1970s in Canada by the educationist David Olson, which led him to claim, for written and for oral language respectively, the existence of two quite different structures of knowledge and two different ways of being intelligent (see e.g. Olson 1977). In the 1970s and '80s the American Jesuit scholar Walter J Ong discussed the wide-ranging implications of the intervention of literacy in "transforming human consciousness" and enabling the individual to realise intellectual and other goals which were previously unattainable (Ong 1982). It is the cumulative evidence of researchers such as these in ascribing to literacy the capacity decisively to influence basic cognitive processes, including logical method, that provides us with item (20) on our list of characteristics of S compared with NS, and in claiming there is a *qualitative* difference between S and NS. This does not mean that any specific utterance by a speaker of S must, by definition, carry implications of cognitive difference from an utterance by a speaker of NS, but only that an overall potential for difference between the two varieties, S and NS, exists by virtue of this quality.

To write thus is to dispute more than twenty years of near-consensus in academic linguistics in the English-speaking world, during which the formulation (widely influential in the 1960s) by the British sociolinguist Basil Bernstein of a theory of linguistic deficit, i.e. of qualitative differences in the language 'codes' of specific groups of S and NS speakers of British English, was apparently overturned by the devastating demonstration by the American sociolinguist William Labov (1969/72) that such a deficit (examined in this case in respect of a Black American NS variety) was illusory. However, the enthusiasm which greeted that demonstration must now be tempered (a) by consideration of crucial weaknesses in Labov's case which have been suggested by critics (Honey 1983; Cooper 1984); (b) by the wider discussion (see above) of the qualitative implications of S varieties as languages of literacy; and (c) by new evidence on the 'lexical deficit' ascribed to some forms of NS (see especially the important work of the Australian linguist David Corson, 1983, 1985).

The emergence of any one dialect into the position of Standard is primarily due to extra-linguistic - essentially geographical, social, political, cultural and economic - factors (see Joseph 1987). Amid the welter of competing dialects in 15th century England, one dialect arrived at a position of primacy, which was soon reinforced by the introduction of printing. Once this process of emergence has taken place, the range of intellectual functions which the standard dialect develops, and above all its growth as the main vehicle of literacy, increases exponentially, especially after access to it has been opened up to the masses by a system of universal and compulsory education, such as happened in Britain in the 19th century. The proliferation of mass media - the popular daily press in the late Victorian period, a national radio service in the 1920s and a widely accessible TV service from the 1950s - provided further mechanisms for the

unchallengeable dominance of the standard dialect. In the light of all the many functions I have enumerated, it is easier to see the facilitation of maximum access to Standard as an act of liberation and empowerment, rather than as exploitation or oppression.

The path to dominance entailed another mechanism: codification, from the school grammar books of the Tudor period onwards (see Michael 1987), to the influential dictionaries of Dr Samuel Johnson and his successors. Such codification is never complete - it is less total for English than for, for example, French, where the process is supposedly formalised and ensured by an 'academy' (though the reality may be very different). The recurrent problem is that of recognising and incorporating linguistic change: a careful look at a few pages of a Jane Austen novel will remind us of the very significant proportions of lexical, grammatical, semantic and idiomatic change that have taken place over two centuries. The effective codification of standard English involves the consensus of educated opinion, which serves as a filter to the acceptance of new forms promoted mainly by the mass media and, generally after a time-lag of a few years, recognised by dictionaries, pedagogic grammars, and (much later) by school teachers and examiners. Thus there is always a degree of imprecision - amounting to perhaps a fraction of one per cent of the typical daily utterances of a classroom teacher or the total word-length of a British daily newspaper - as to what is or is not 'standard English' or 'correct English', but this does not entitle us to query the very existence of a standard variety, since, as I have written elsewhere, we do not fall into the trap of denying the existence of a standard version of anything simply because in its purest form it is difficult to define or measure (Honey 1985).

So far, I have written of the relationship of S to NS language as though there were some kind of absolute cut-off between the two varieties, but of course this is an over-simplification. On one dimension, the relationship is much better illustrated by the notion - developed in North America by the work of William A. Stewart (1965) and Derek Bickerton (1971) - of a spectrum or 'cline', on which three main relationships to standardness, either in respect of a dialect or of one of its components (e.g. accent) can be located by a general area along a line, with the 'acrolect' being the most standard, and the highest-prestige, form:

Acrolect Mesolect Basilect

and with infinite gradations in between. (For British English, the acrolect is Standard English spoken in RP; basilects are the present surviving forms of the historic dialects of Britain; mesolects represent the intermediate speech forms used by the majority of citizens.) My own application of this notion to the description of the relationship of the different forms of accent within Britain has drawn attention to the usefulness of identifying two other positions on this scale:

first, an area to the left of the acrolect to represent what I have called the 'hyperlect', an accent or dialect especially associated with social privilege or pretension, and capable of arousing resentment or ridicule among outsiders. And secondly and a point, called the 'paralect', immediately to the right of the acrolect, which acknowledges the truism that extended education tends to carry speakers of English leftwards along this scale, away from regional accents and towards the acrolect accent (RP), but points out that many speakers who make this linguistic journey stop fractionally short of pure RP and retain tiny traces of their regional origins in their otherwise standard accent (see Honey 1985, 1989).

Another of my teachers at Cambridge in the 1950s, the anthropologist Sir Edmund Leach, liked to claim that the relative prestige of languages or dialects followed from "very simple economic causes", since it is "advantageous for the individual to identify himself linguistically with those who possess political and economic influence" (see also Leach 1954). Other writers in recent years have severely criticised the norms and 'correctness' notions of standard languages as being a means of suppression serving to reproduce the power structures of capitalist societies (see the references in Bartsch 1986, xii).

We can now recognise, however, that these analyses may misrepresent the matter. In many societies, including Britain, and in many periods of history, the ruling classes have not, characteristically, spoken the acrolect: they have spoken a special and distinct variety of it (i.e. the hyperlect), or they may even (as in Czarist Russia) have spoken a different language altogether. What characterises the S form of the language - the acrolect - is above all else its connexion with education and, by association, with the quality of educatedness. For this reason, it is helpful for us to recognise, along with the categories **dialect** (defined by region) and **sociolect** (defined by social class) a third category, defined by experience of education. For this I borrow the term pioneered by the distinguished Filipino linguist Brother Andrew Gonzalez, **edulect** (see Gonzalez in Gonzalez and Bautista 1986, and elsewhere).

In Britain, while RP constitutes the acrolect in England, there are alternative regional models of educated speech provided by the locally-rooted intelligentsia in Scotland and (to some extent) in Wales.

Furthermore, within Scotland and Wales, locals who have adapted their speech to RP are regarded by their neighbours and colleagues as speaking the hyperlect, which has connotations of affectation and social pretension.

This phenomenon can also be observed among native speakers of English outside Britain. In Australia, whose educated classes were long fed by, and to some extent dominated by, a constant infusion of graduates from Britain, RP was for long held up within the educational system as the model for the 'correct' accent, and until recently dominated the broadcasting media. But with the emergence of a locally-based intelligentsia of academics and highly educated professionals, there evolved an educated (or 'cultivated') Australian accent,

which for Australia must now be regarded as the acrolect. Again, those Australians who speak RP (the acrolect in Britain) are now regarded by their compatriots as speaking what in Australia is the hyperlect. In both these examples, what is crucial in identifying the acrolect is not power or wealth, but the association of a linguistic variety with local perceptions of 'educatedness'.

In the 1990s, most people who speak or learn English are not mother-tongue speakers of any variety of it. Of those who are, a numerical majority for much of this century have been speakers of the American variety, characterised by small differences (compared with British English) of vocabulary and idiom, minute differences of grammar, and an easily observable set of regular and systematic differences of pronunciation. L2 learners of English around the world are faced with a choice between these two main models, or, in the case of parts of the world previously ruled by Britain or the USA, faced with an educational system in which one of these varieties was already established. In most parts of Asia (e.g. the subcontinent of India, Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, etc.) this has meant British English, and in the Philippines, long under US rule or influence since 1898, this has meant American English, which was also influential in Japan immediately after 1945.

But wherever, for reasons of past political domination, either British English or American English has become well-established in the educational system, there has grown up a distinctive local variety which, in the mouths of local teachers and learners, has taken on a life of its own.

The Englishes of the subcontinent of India, with well over a hundred years of flourishing life, are a classic example of this process of indigenisation which has, for totally understandable reasons, produced so substantial a degree of variation from standard British English that commentators have been led to predict the fragmentation of the English language world-wide, on the analogy of Latin at the end of the Roman Empire.

It becomes a central issue both of language planning and of practical classroom teaching to determine how to accommodate such differences, which now affect the teaching of English in every part of the world (not least South East Asia) where English has been sufficiently long established in the school system for a recognisable local variety to have emerged. Extending our earlier analysis of S and NS varieties in terms of their characteristic functions, we can state the following:

1. Standard English, in either its British or its American variety, has become recognised as the language of international communication and all citizens have a right to learn it in a form which is sufficiently close to ensure intelligibility.

2. Standard English is also the means of access to the resources of knowledge and information which are more widely available in this than in any other language.

3. Local varieties of English contain differences which, where they are substantial, may hinder their speakers in respect of the functions specified in (1) and (2).

4. It is unrealistic to expect that any method of English language teaching, however well-resourced, will eradicate all traces of such local differences and produce local speakers of an AmE or BrE acrolect.

5. The presence of some reflection of such local differences in the speech of local speakers of English performs an important function in asserting pride in a local identity, and the total absence of such features, e.g. in the speaker's accent, causes the speaker to be regarded as hyperlectal. (What we saw in the case of Australia also holds true for Singapore, for the Philippines, and for many parts of the world where English has been long established: a 'pure' acrolectal (British or US) accent in the mouth of a local speaker is perceived as hyperlectal.)

6. The crucial component of acceptability is likely to be the association of a language variety with 'educatedness'. The local differences from the international standard which are most likely to resist pressures to uniformity are those which are modelled on the speech of the most educated local speakers, i.e. in Gonzalez's term, the local *edulect.*

7. At the same time, the other important functional component must not be lost sight of: the requirement that speakers of this variety be internationally intelligible, a criterion important in the new century as never before. The new target variety is thus likely to represent, in relation to the acrolect of the mother-tongue speaker of BrE or AmE, a position similar to that of the paralect - i.e. a set of sometimes tiny differences (of accent, grammar, lexis etc.) which nevertheless serve to assert the speaker's separate regional identity. Such differences should not involve the reduction of crucial phonemic or semantic contrasts.

8. A condition of effective access to a target variety is that it be codified. It is therefore essential that educators in all school systems where a local variety of English has developed should decide authoritatively what constitutes the local edulect, and make provision for its regular review to identify and incorporate change. They must also promulgate their codification and provide teaching

materials which make their defined code accessible, and they must take steps to make it operative throughout the educational system, especially at the level of public examinations and by the promotion of its use in the mass media.

Many of the differences between local forms of English and the international standard English constitute a potential enrichment of the speaker's expressiveness and it will be important to recognise opportunities of genre, style and register which make such uses appropriate. An over-riding goal, however, must be to achieve a local standard which is close enough in intelligibility to the international standard and to arrest the further fragmentation of the English language in the world, which can only disadvantage those whose life-chances depend on events, ideas, contacts and opportunities beyond the confines of their immediate community. The likelihood of achieving this goal has immeasurably increased with the development of forms of classroom technology (e.g. videos, etc.) which bypass teachers whose own use of an internationally intelligible variety of English is defective and who provide a poor model in this respect for their pupils, though it has to be admitted that L2 English teaching even in the richer countries of the world shows little use so far of these resources.

I end with a story. It comes from Singapore, but in fact it reflects a type of situation which could have happened in many other countries. It was there that I was recently introduced to an intelligent young man who, as is now not uncommon for some Singaporeans, had spent a period of his secondary education in Britain at a very good school, and had emerged speaking English in a form close to British English but retaining sufficient features to confirm that he was in fact Singaporean. He had interrupted his education to return home for nearly three years in order to complete his military service before going on to university in the United Kingdom. I asked him how he had got on with his fellow-recruits, in view of the fact that he had missed out on several years of schooling with his Singapore peer-group. Extremely well, he said, but there was one unexpected phenomenon. He had had to get used to the fact that many of the other cadets, especially the less educated ones, would approach him for help with a variety of personal problems which he felt he had no special experience in solving. His fellow-rankers all came to him, he discovered, because the way he spoke English caused them to have confidence that he possessed the wisdom and expertise to be able to help them.

NOTE: My thinking on these issues, especially as they relate to English as L2, benefited from my three months as Visiting Scholar at the Institute of Education, Singapore, 1987, and from a shorter period as guest of De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines March-April 1990. Neither institution is responsible for the uses to which I have put such thinking.

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STANDARDS IN WORLD ENGLISHES*

Larry E. Smith

We are at present witnessing a rapid increase in the use of English as a language of wider communication. It is the language of air traffic controllers at international airports and ship captains at sea all over the world. It is the language used most frequently for international mail and at international conferences. It is the principal language of international commerce and international aid. The geographical spread of English (Kachru, 1987) indicates its rising importance. Often it is claimed that it has reached such importance because of its total number of fluent users (both native and non-native) scattered all over the globe. Sometimes it is said to be so important because it was the language of the industrial revolution and remains the language of science and technology. No doubt two reasons for the high frequency of its use are (1) the power and influence of native English speaking countries, and (2) the fact that much world communication either originates from a native English speaking audience or is directed to such an audience. However I believe a more important reason for the ever increasing high frequency of its use is that non-native speakers are using it more and more often with other non-native speakers in international settings. More and more countries are making English their lingua franca to communicate with the rest of the world--not just the native English speaking world. This is happening at the same time that English is being used less frequently (Harrison, 1979, Aquino, 1988) as a national language because of the desire to reaffirm indigenous cultural identities. The message seems to be, "English is not our national language, but it is one of our official languages for international and intranational use." With the spread of English, many different varieties have developed. The recognition of the functional diversity of English is so important that some (Smith, 1987; Kachru, 1982; Pride, 1982; Strevens, 1987) have begun to use the term Englishes to reflect the functional and formal variations in the language. There is now a professional journal called WORLD ENGLISHES Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language which is devoted to the dissemination of information about English as it is used internationally and intranationally. Not all varieties of English have been described in linguistic texts but they function as varieties nevertheless. Certainly not all of the varieties are used by educated speakers of English, but there is a variety called Standard English (Strevens, 1987) which is a target of use for almost all educated users of the language. The printed form of this variety, at the sentence level, is very similar no matter who the users are or

what the geographical location. However, the discoursal patterns (i.e., language beyond the sentence which reflects speech acts) within Standard English are very different, depending upon the norms of usage and politeness of the interactors. Of course the spoken form of Standard English has the features of pronunciation, stress, and intonation of the pattern of speech of the locale in which it is used. This paper will deal only with this standard variety of world Englishe as it is used internationally.

When any language becomes international in character, it cannot be bound to any one culture. A Thai doesn't need to sound like an American in order to use English well with a Filipino at an ASEAN meeting. A Japanese doesn't need an appreciation of a British lifestyle in order to use English in his business dealings with a Malaysian. The Chinese do not need a background in Western literature in order to use English effectively as a language for publications of worldwide distribution. The political leaders of France and Germany use English in private political discussions but this doesn't mean that they take on the political attitudes of Americans. It is clear that in these situations there is no attempt for the user to be like a native speaker of English. English is used to express the speaker's business policy, government position, or political conviction. It is the means of expression of the speaker's culture, and not an imitation of the culture of Great Britain, the United States or any other native English speaking country.

English, when used as an international language, is not owned by its native speakers (Suzuki, 1979), and native and non-native speakers everywhere must become aware of the widespread shift in attitudes and assumptions about the language. The shift from a native-speaker dominated to any-speaker oriented attitude toward English is expressed in a statement made by T.T.B. Koh, (quoted in Tongue, 1974) at that time Singapore's representative to the United Nations, ".....when one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognizing that I am a Singaporean." Of equal importance in expressing this shift in attitude is a statement by Randolph Quirk (1968) that "notions such as English is the Englishman's gift and the language remains fundamentally 'ours,' etc. are parochial and naive" and that "they do not even remotely correspond to linguistic realities and they can do nothing but harm to the cause of human relationships and international harmony."

International organizations must not only accept this international position for English but must promote it and ensure that their staff and programs are not chauvinistic toward non-native users of English. This doesn't mean "anything goes." Each of us must continue to be concerned with what is appropriate, acceptable, and intelligible. The most basic concern is for intelligibility. If a person doesn't speak clearly enough to be understood, his message is lost. It

should be emphasized here however that the responsibility for effective communication is shared by both the speaker and the listener. In a conversation, it is not the sole responsibility of the speaker to make himself understood. The listener must make an effort to understand. It is fortunate that most speakers are able to attain mutual intelligibility after only a brief exposure to a pronunciation different from their own. (cf. Smith and Rafiqzad, 1979; Smith and Bisazza, 1982; Smith and Nelson, 1985).

The second concern is for grammatical acceptability. It is often easy to understand a person's meaning from what is said even when that person isn't using grammatical sentences (i.e., Standard English). If we hear a person say, "I miss too much my mother," there is little doubt about the meaning but there is some doubt about the person's English education. Strevens (1989) has emphasized that although Standard English can be spoken with any accent, we do not lower our grammatical standards for its use.

The third concern is for appropriateness. One can be easily understood and speak in grammatical sentences and still use English inappropriately. Robert Strauss, formerly the U.S. chief foreign trade negotiator, is known for his down-home, friendly style. While working on the deficit trade negotiations with Japan, Time magazine reports that as the talks were on the verge of breaking down, Strauss slapped the Japanese Minister on the back and laughing said, "You know what? You're crazy hell!" That the negotiations did not collapse on the spot is probably due more to the Japanese Minister's sophistication than to Strauss' rich humor. To say that linguistic chauvinism cannot be tolerated in situations where English is used as an international language does not mean that less emphasis will be given to these three concerns: intelligibility, grammatical acceptability, and social appropriateness.

There is more for native speakers to learn than tolerance for different pronunciation patterns. Native speakers must know how other people structure information and argument when using English. One effective way to learn this, while at the same time learning about other cultures, is to read the "new literatures" written in English by non-native speakers and intended for a world audience. Braj Kachru (1988) has referred to these as "literatures in English." Native speakers must also sharpen their perceptions of what may go wrong in an intercultural conversation. They must recognize the need for talking with the other person about what has gone wrong when there is a communication breakdown. Native speakers must be sensitized to the probability of misunderstanding and be prepared to deal with it.

This is true when a native speaker is talking with a non-native speaker, but it is also true, and equally important, when a native English speaker of one national variety is interacting with another native speaker of another national variety. For example an Australian talking with an American. It is common

knowledge that the majority cultures of the two countries vary greatly from one another even though both use English. The phonological differences may soon be almost forgotten but the way language is used to state cultural assumptions or to structure information will make each one feel like he is working in a "foreign" language. Beyond these differences are those related to ways of speaking. For example the expression of attitudes and emotions through tone of voice, intonation, and gestures. We often hear people say, "It wasn't what she said, it was the way she said it." Americans are said to be assertive, Japanese, very polite, and Thais, shy because of the way they speak.

Although native English speakers will need to change their attitudes and assumptions in shifting toward English as an international language, there are some needed changes for non-native speakers. They too must become more tolerant to the many varieties of educated English and learn about the ways other non-native speakers use English. The Japanese businessman will not be very successful with an Indonesian if he expects him to do business as an American just because he is using English. Sukwiwat (1980) notes that from 1977 the Ministry of Education in Thailand has stated that one objective of studying English in that country is "to promote the understanding of other cultures, with a view to bringing about harmony and friendship among nations." This objective replaced one which read, "to impart an understanding of the culture of the English-speaking peoples." This is a change in objectives non-native speakers must make toward English as an international language.

All people, native as well as non-native English speakers, who use English internationally are exposed to several different varieties of English--American, British, Canadian, Filipino, Indian, Singaporean, etc. Although they will want to know a great deal about other people and other cultures, they should remember that they can only be themselves. English is a means to communicate to the rest of the world their identity, culture, politics, religion, and "way of life." One doesn't need to become more Western or change one's morals to use English well in international situations. English can and should be de-nationalized. (cf. Lee, 1989).

It is often said that language and culture are inextricably tied together and I completely agree with that. But the implication has been that English is therefore inextricably tied to American culture or British culture or Australian culture or New Zealand culture or Canadian culture. When it is stated that way it seems ridiculous because we know there are many cultures in these countries and that any culture can use English as its vehicle.

Language and culture may be inextricably tied together but no one language is inextricably tied to any one culture, and no one needs to become more like native English speakers in order to use English well. For example Krishnaswamy and Aziz (1978) have pointed out, "The government of the

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen believes that English is an international language and learning English in necessary for contacts with other countries; the people realize that English is essential for trade, scientific studies, etc." According to Krishnaswamy and Aziz "materials from the English speaking world that are in use are meant to propagate the middle class style of life and Western ideologies." The feeling that these materials carry a chauvinistic attitude was not seen as grounds to reject the language but as grounds to change the content of the materials to "make English the vehicle of Yemni culture." One would hope that the rejection of foreign chauvinism will not be replaced by an indigenous variety.

Although I agree with Gumperz and Roberts (1978) that "there is no single method which people can acquire and no set of rules which they can simply put into practice" to ensure that they communicate effectively across cultures, I do think there are some guidelines which help. Below I've listed some to keep in mind when involved in cross-cultural communication. (cf. Mauser, 1977). I've divided them into two categories: one for the speaker and one for the listener.

When speaking remember:

1. Be yourself; remain natural. Don't speak louder than usual, exaggerate your enunciation, or use exaggerated gestures. Speak clearly and distinctly but don't slow your speech down excessively unless you speak uncommonly fast. Even if your listener speaks slowly, he will usually be able to understand any natural rate of speaking. If he doesn't he may request that you slow down.

2. Avoid slang, jargon, and figures of speech. Be as concrete as possible. Be specific and illustrate your points with examples when feasible.

3. Avoid long monologues and limit the number of ideas in each of your sentences.

4. Beware of trying to be humorous unless you know your listener and his culture well. You can be easily misunderstood and thought to be insulting.

5. Tactfully ask questions occasionally to determine whether or not your listener has comprehended your key points. Nodding the head does not necessarily mean that the listener has understood or agrees with you. A Japanese listener may nod his head to mean, "I am listening to you and trying to understand; please continue."

6. At the end of the discussion, paraphrase the essential items with a statement like, "The following points seem to have been made." (This is especially important for conference and business meetings.)

When listening, remember:

1. Relax and display calmness and patience. This is always important but is especially so when there are possible disagreements to be discussed.

2. If the speaker is talking too fast or too softly, request that he speak slower or louder. Try, "I'm sorry, I didn't quite understand you." Stop the speaker when you are unclear of a word or a sentence. Use something like, "Excuse me, but what was that last word?" or "I beg your pardon, I didn't get that last sentence."

3. Reassure the speaker that you are listening and understanding him from time to time by making one or two-word comments on key phrases: "Yes," "Exactly," "That's correct," are useful.

4. When the speaker seems to be momentarily pausing, seeking for a way to express his thoughts, wait for him; don't take the conversation lead away from him.

5. If you have heard a word or sentence clearly but are unsure of its meaning, try to simplify the sentence and ask, "Is that what you mean?"

6. Pay attention to silence. Sometimes what is NOT said is as important as what is stated. Always be aware of the way something is said--the tone of voice, the gesture used, and the intonation. These can be more important than the spoken word.

7. Even when you think you understand completely what has been said, check this periodically by rephrasing or repeating key ideas of the conversation. Don't be surprised, even in the best of circumstances, when misunderstanding occurs. Be ready to admit you have misunderstood or have been misunderstood and seek immediately to clarify the situation. It is the widespread use of English which makes it an international language. This does not mean, however, that soon everyone everywhere will be speaking English, wearing jeans, and dancing to a disco beat. The spread of English is not a homogenizing factor which causes cultural differences to disappear, but the use of English offers a medium to express and explain differences. There is no desire among members of the world community

when using English to become more like native speakers in their life style. Native speakers must realize that there are many valid varieties of English and that non-native speakers need not sound like or act like Americans, the British, or any other group of native speakers in order to be effective English users. English is being used as an international language in diplomacy, international trade, and tourism. Native speakers need as much help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally. There is no room for linguistic chauvinism.

Notes

*An earlier version of this paper appeared under the title 'English as an International Language No Room for Linguistic Chauvinism in Nagoya Gakuin Daigaku Roundtable, No. 3, 1981, pp. 27-32.

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VARIATION IN ENGLISH: WHAT ROLE FOR EDUCATION?

Sandra Lee McKay

Prator (1968) in his oft cited article argued strongly for promoting a single standard of English, maintaining that schools have an obligation to teach a native standard of English. As he (1968: 469) put it,

> if teachers in many different parts of the world aim at the same stable, well documented model, the general effort of their instruction will be convergent; the speech of their pupils will become more and more similar to that of pupils in many other regions, and the area within which communication is possible will grow progressively larger.

On the other side, Kachru (1982, 1986) and (Nelson 1988) have argued for the acceptance and encouragement of local varieties of English. Lost in the controversy of what standard to teach is an examination of Prator's underlying assumption that the role of education is to direct language use.

In this paper I intend to question Prator's basic assumption that the educational structure is a productive forum for directing language use. In part, I will support my query by examining the role that the United States educational structure has assumed in dealing with dialect differences. The paper will begin with a discussion of the controversy surrounding United States educators' response to Black English Vernacular in the 1960s and 1970s. The second part of the paper will discuss the implications of United States' attention to dialect differences for the teaching of a particular standard of English on an international basis. It is my thesis that language classrooms should be forums for developing language awareness so that students can determine the value of a particular variety of English for their own circumstances rather than forums to direct language change.

Throughout the paper, I will use the term, *institutionalized varieties* of English as it is defined by Kachru (1986: 19):

> The institutionalized second-language varieties have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts; they have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems. The result of such uses is that such varieties have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages (registers), and are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres.

Black English Vernacular (BEV) will be used in reference to the variety of English spoken by some members of the black community in the United States whose specific characteristics have been discussed in such works as Labov (1969), Wolfram (1969) and Shuy et. al. (1967). BEV will be considered as an instance of an institutionalized variety with the qualification that it, in contrast to some other institutionalized varieties, has a limited range of functions in "the local educational, administrative and legal system."

UNITED STATES EDUCATION AND DIALECT DIFFERENCES

As Cremins (1965: 113) points out in his discussion of United States education, Americans have traditionally placed great trust in education as a way of addressing social issues. As he says,

> As one reviews the American experience, nothing is more striking than the boundless faith of the citizenry in the power of popular education. It was a faith widely shared by the generation that founded the republic, and it has been an essential article of American belief ever since.... Education has been, par excellence, American's instrument of social progress and reform.

In reference to language issues, Americans have a long tradition of using the schools to impact language change. During the 17th and 18th century, school grammar and spelling books were designed to inculcate what was considered to be "correct" English. In the 1940s, Fries carried on this tradition by maintaining that the role of the schools was to promote a certain variety of English. In his report to the National Council of Teachers of English regarding social class differences in American English, Fries (1940: 15) argued that the schools have the following obligations in regard to language.

1. There can be no correctness apart from usage and the *true* forms of 'standard' English are those that are actually used in that particular dialect. Deviations from these usages are 'incorrect' only when used in the dialect to which they do not belong.
2. *It is the assumed obligation of the schools to attempt to develop in each child the knowledge of and the ability to use the 'standard' English of the United States* (italics mine)--that set of language habits in which the most important affairs of our country are carried on, the dialects of the socially acceptable in most of our communities.
3. The first step in fulfilling that obligation is the making of an accurate and realistic survey and description of the actual language practices in the various social or class dialects. Only after we have such information in hand can we know what social connotations are likely to attach to particular usages.

While Fries' statement reflects a shift from a prescriptive to descriptive view of language, it nonetheless demonstrates a belief that the schools have the obligation to teach a particular standard of English. A focus on the schools as vehicles for language change is further evident in the United States' response to Black English Vernacular during the 1960s.

In the 1960s, due to widespread migration of blacks to northern cities and the passage of the Civil Rights Act, United States educators looked to the schools to deal with the issue of Black English Vernacular. Two prevalent models dominated the discussion of BEV: the deficit model and the different model. Proponents of the deficit model (see Deutsch 1967, Green 1963 and Hurst 1965), who were educators from both the black and white community, viewed BEV in what Ruiz (1988) terms a *language-as-problem* perspective. The special variety of English spoken by blacks was viewed as a problem which limited the blacks' opportunities to succeed educationally and economically in the society. For advocates of the deficit model, the solution to this "problem" was one of replacing BEV with the use of Standard American English (SAE). Thus, according to the deficit model, the role of the school was to work toward the eradication of BEV with the replacement of SAE.

In contrast to the deficit model, proponents of the different model like Labov (1969), Wolfram (1969) and Shuy et. al (1967) maintained that BEV was a legitimate variety of English. Their view was in line with what Ruiz (1988) terms a *language-as-right* perspective in that proponents of the different model argued for the right of BEV speakers to continue to speak their variety of English in addition to acquiring English. They advocated the promotion of bidialectalism (i.e. the ability to speak both BEV and SAE), maintaining that children need to be able to use both varieties of English. While advocates of the deficit and different model held very different assumptions about how to deal with BEV in the schools, in both cases, the schools were viewed as the natural vehicle for impacting language change, whether this change be the replacement of one variety with another or the addition of a new variety to the existing one.

As educators debated whether or not schools should strive to eradicate or add to black children's use of BEV, members of the black community expressed ambivalent attitudes toward BEV. To the extent that members of the black community believed that the use of BEV minimized their chances for social and economic mobility, they were motivated to acquire Standard American English. Martin Luther King speaking in Selma just before the civil rights march to the capital associated BEV with other disadvantages of the black community:

> Those of us who are Negroes don't have much. We have known the long night of poverty. Because of the system, we don't have much education and many of us don't know how to make our nouns and our verbs agree (King as quoted in Cazden 1966: 186).

Other black leaders, however, doubted that the acquisition of SAE was the real key to economic and social mobility within the community. As Carmichael (1968: 72) put it, black people are told from birth that

> 'if you work hard, you'll succeed' - but if that were true black people would own this country. We are oppressed because we are black - not because we are ignorant, not because we are lazy, not because we're stupid (and got good rhythm), but because we're black.

Regardless of their view on the reasons for social discrimination, black leaders rarely used BEV in their public speeches. As Labov (1968: 219) points out, black leaders who opposed middle-class society with the most radical nationalist positions were inevitably standard speakers. There is then a fundamental contradiction:

> Those who would like to use the vernacular as a sign of solidarity with the community, find themselves derogating that community by so doing - demonstrating that its leaders are too ignorant to speak correctly. The social values attributed to NNE (Negro Nonstandard English) are those appropriate to informal colloquial communication.

As black leaders like Carmichael explored various social reasons for blacks' position in society, many teachers of English continued to make the argument that SAE was essential to providing blacks with equal educational and economic opportunities. As Smiley (1964: 42) put it,

> English teachers presumably agree with Fries' observation that language habits are widely used as a basis for making status judgements and that the school has an assumed obligation to provide the child 'no matter what his original social background and speech' with the language habits that constitute a passport to social mobility.

Toward the end of the 1960s, however, a few educators began to question the role of education in directing language use. Moffett (1968: 36), one of the most renowned figures in English education, argued that

> if standard English grammar, as behavior, is considered desirable, then let 'disadvantaged' students speak with those who use the standard dialect. They will learn it the same way they learned their local dialect and for the same reason--that they are members of a speech community where it is native.

Sledd (1969), another leading figure in English education, argued that the idea of promoting bidialectalism was a reflection of a type of linguistic white supremacy. Maintaining that it was social segregation which led blacks to use a different language, he argued that what schools should be doing to minimize racial prejudice is familiarizing speakers of SAE with BEV and other varieties of spoken English so that these speakers learned to accept and appreciate variation in American English. For Sledd the role of the school was to encourage an appreciation of dialect differences rather than to work toward an elimination or replacement of dialect differences. (For a full discussion of the role of education in regard to BEV during the 1960s, see McKay, 1971.)

Moffett (1968) and Sledd's (1969) contention that changes in language use are basically a function of the social structure rather than the educational structure was further supported by research in the late sixties by Labov (1968) and Shuy et. al. (1967) which demonstrated how standards of use and usage are, to a large extent, a function of an individual's speech community. The debate as to whether or not the United States educational structure should be involved in promoting a particular variety of American English is far from settled. However, the language debates of the sixties and seventies did bring to the forefront the question of to what extent the schools can and should be involved in directing language use. Perhaps it is time, both on the national and international level, for a recognition of the limitations of educational institutions as vehicles for language change.

TEACHING LANGUAGE AWARENESS VERSUS TEACHING LANGUAGE STANDARDS

Nelson (1988) in his discussion of World Englishes points out that "it may be easier for an outsider to accept the existence and validity of a national variety than for an insider to come to the same terms with his English." Similarly it is likely easier for an outsider to accept the existence and validity of institutionalized varieties of English than for an insider to do so. Thus, as an outsider to the issue of institutionalized varieties of English, it is perhaps easier for me to question the role of the schools in promoting a particular variety of English than for one involved in the debate to do so. However, the long standing tradition in the United States of looking to the schools to deal with all social issues has led me to question the extent to which schools, in isolation, can effect changes in social behavior. There is I think on both a national and international level a need to critically examine what role education can and should play in the larger social context. While an examination of the role of English education may lead educators to place less emphasis on teaching a particular standard of English, such an examination may result in the schools assuming other important roles such as the following.

1. Developing an Awareness of Language Variation.

Beginning with the students' native language, teachers might demonstrate the manner in which language varies according to region, social class, gender and context. In reference to English, teachers might illustrate the ways in which spoken English in particular differs from one country to another. In order to do this, English educators on an international level need to develop a great many more types of listening material as a way of exemplifying for their students the variation of English in a world context.

2. Developing an Awareness of Language Appropriateness.

Beginning with the native language, teachers might illustrate how the form of the language used needs to be suited to the social situation. Drawing on markers of formal and informal discourse in the native language, teachers could illustrate how speakers, if they wish to fulfill their objectives, need to select a form that is appropriate for the context. The idea of appropriateness might then be extended to an international basis where, particularly in terms of written English, certain standards will be more appropriate than others.

3. Developing Strategies for Dealing with a Lack of Intelligibility

Using the native language, teachers could demonstrate what strategies speakers might use when they do not fully understand what is said. After demonstrating various strategies of repair in the native language, the teacher might shift to English, providing examples of language forms for seeking clarification and repetition. The goal might be what Baxter (1983: 106-107) calls *interactive listening*. As he says.

> (V)ariation in the English used by interactors in international situations is inevitable. The pedagogical goal thus becomes one of producing in students a range of skills of adaption, many of which fall under the rubric of listening comprehension....The addressee needs to be able to ask for clarification and for repetition; the addressee needs to be able to counter lexical variation with, 'What does that mean?'; he or she needs to be able to formulate a paraphrase and ask, 'Is that what you mean?' In short, from an EIL perspective, listening comprehension is an aspect of mutual interaction of participants in a communicative situation. We should thus speak of *interactive listening*.

For those students who will be using English in an international context, having skill in interactive listening will enable them to deal with misunderstanding arising language from variation. By focusing on this skill, the classroom becomes a vehicle for helping students deal with variability rather than trying to direct it.

The idea of using the language classroom as a forum for developing language awareness is a current goal of British education. Language Awareness curriculums in Great Britain are designed to help students explore the role of language in human communication and value the variation of language. According to Martin-Jones (1988: 22), the primary reasons for enacting such curriculums are as follows.

> First, it is argued that language awareness work can help learners make explicit the tacit knowledge they already have about language. Second, proponents of language awareness work believe that it offers a way of combating social and linguistic prejudices and promoting greater inter-ethnic understanding in the classroom. Thirdly, it is claimed that bilingual minority children derive a number of benefits from the inclusion of their home languages on the classroom agenda.

The ultimate goal of the Language Awareness curriculum in Britain is to encourage young people to see language as a resource and to develop their learning about language. Similar goals might be enacted on an international basis with schools striving to promote in students a sense of the richness and power of language so that they can better assess what it is they need to learn about a particular language in order to fulfill their academic and professional goals. In this way the role of the schools would shift from one of directing language use to one of promoting language awareness. Teachers of English would continue to teach the variety of English they speak and teach a generally accepted form of written English, but they would do so in a way which helps students to realize the complexity of language and the need to use appropriate language for the particular context. Enabling students to see the power and value of various forms of English would be the goal and not the homogenization of all English speakers. In order for such a goal to be reached, we, as educators, need to place less emphasis on debating what standard of English we should teach and greater emphasis on examining what should be the role of English education in the larger social context.

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CORRECTNESS IN ENGLISH

Alan Davies

Abstract

The paper argues that institutional (and particularly gate-keeping) requirements of language in use suggest a reassessment of notions of correctness, noting that description generally implies prescription.

1. Introduction

The guardians of the English language, self-appointed letter writers[1] and broadsheet campaigners, those custodians against change, live in double jeopardy. In the first place, they are ridiculed by one another as much as by the world, and their efforts likened to the vanity of King Canute. In the second place their work is regarded as a failure, again as much by themselves as by others.

Dr Johnson's famous remark about academies comes through to us as an ironic comment on his own attempt at *ascertainment* of the lexicon of English for his dictionary:

'Academies have been instituted to guard the avenues of the language, to retain fugitives and to repulse invaders; but their vigilance and activity have been vain; sounds are too volatile and subtile for legal restraints; to enchain syllables and to lash the wind are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength.' (Johnson in Bolton 1966: 151, 2)

Sir Ernest Gowers (1973) is fiercely contemptuous of the Tracts of the Society for Pure English (of which more later):

'In recent years we have seen a Society for Pure English, with leaders as eminent as Henry Bradley, Robert Bridges and Logan Pearsall Smith, inviting the support of all those who, "would preserve all the richness of differentiation in our vocabulary, its nice grammatical usage and its traditional idioms, but would oppose whatever is slipshod and careless and all blurring of hard-won distinctions, and oppose no less the tyranny of schoolmasters and grammarians, both in their pedantic conservatism and in their enforcing of new-fangled rules". But it (the Society for Pure English) is now defunct. Johnson was right, as usual' (Gowers 1973: 23, 4:)

More dismissive than elegiac, we might feel. How odd (or is it?) that Gowers should fail to list H W Fowler's name among the leaders, even though several of Fowler's contributions to the Society for Pure English Tracts were reissued as sections of his Modern English Usage, (Fowler 1926, revised Gowers 1965), the very book Gowers was revising for his Complete Plain Words (Gowers 1954), from which I have just quoted.

Again at the end of his book Grammar and Good Taste: Reforming the American Language (1982), Dennis Baron admits:

'The early planners and reformers of American English left one common legacy for their twentieth century counterparts to ponder: an overwhelming lack of success. Their history of failure has proved to be no deterrent. Whether conservative or radical, the language planners, some ignorant of past attempts at reform, others optimistic in spite of the failure of those attempts, continue their efforts to alter our English' (1982: 239)

The question I start with in this paper is whether these views, coming as they typically do in the context of an attempt at prescription (a dictionary, a handbook of usage) really mean that the whole effort is vain or whether there are different types or levels of correctness and whether, while some correctness activity is pointless, there are others that are valid. I then consider the issue of correctness from the point of view of Applied Linguistics, which must necessarily take account of the institutional requirements of and demands on language in use. I look particularly at language tests which operate importantly as a gatekeeping device in many educational and vocational settings. I will argue that language tests must assume correctness, that this is in practice what many other linguistic activities also do. In so doing they all contribute:

i. to the view speakers take of their first or second language, and
ii. to attitudes towards the language.

In other words, the dynamic of change in language is affected by factors other than itself.

2. Prescription, relativism, norms.

First, however, I want to raise two related topics, that of the relation between prescription and description and that of relativism. It is common for linguists to make an absolute distinction between description and prescription and to reject prescription as not their concern. True, some linguists do accept that all description is necessarily a form of prescription. Haas (1982) and Jespersen

(1922), for example, make this point explicitly, but it may well be implicit in all linguistic endeavour and accepted as what descriptions entail (as with, for example, maps). The rejection then would have to do with seeing prescription as not the primary task of the linguist, the primary tasks, presumably, being theory and description.

The second topic, that of relativism, is closely connected. Prescription seems to imply some sort of choice for better or worse. Another linguistic article of belief is that there is no such thing as better or worse in language: there is no relative difference, all codes are equal. But while indeed that may be a linguistic truism (and has of course to be seen to imply 'potential') it is just not true sociolinguistically, and it is for that reason helpful right at the start of introductory sociolinguistic courses to make that point strongly to counteract various manifestations of sentimentality about the minority languages. Just as a standard language has become standardised through in part the elaboration it has undergone, so the language of wider communication has gone ahead of its peers and become more widely accessible by virture of a similar process. Sankoff indeed goes so far as to suggest that:

'language contact, prolonged bilingualism and the use of pidgins and lingua franchi, seem to lead to certain types of reduction in surface complexities of the language used.' (Sankoff 1976: 284).

I would argue that similar reduction seems to occur with the development of a dialect as a standard.

Correctness, prescription, standardisation and relativism, then all seem to come together when we consider language in institutional use. I want again as a preliminary to consider a third topic, that of norm. Renate Bartsch (1987), argues that norms are what hold communities together, that these are of various kinds (linguistic, religious, legal) and that rules of, for example, grammar are the realisations of the linguistic norms. Now this means that members of the (in our case) speech community signal their membership by observing the norms. The easiest way to do this is to follow the rules. Bartsch maintains that the typical linguistic norms include rules for the basic means of expression (the sound system), for lexis, for syntax, for texts, for semantic correctness and for pragmatics. What is interesting to us is, first, that she recognises that group differences may lead to language variety differences, each with its own norms-rules relation; second, that she includes text with the more linguistic categories thereby conflating the two branches of traditional correctness discussions.

3. Three levels and questions

I wish to expand these two dimensions to three. The three dimensions relate to three different needs in language learning, which I will simplify into those of:

1. the foreign language learner (FL)
2. the standard dialect learner (SD)
3. the learner of advanced writing (AW).

These divisions are not watertight and it is normal for there to be leakage so that the standard dialect learner is also a leaner of advanced writing and so on. It is helpful to set these three levels out in a table distinguishing the levels by different questions and answers, thus:

	Question	Answer
1. FL	What do I do?	This is what you do
2. SD	Which one do I choose?	That depends
3. AW	How do I do It?	Practise this

3.1 In the case of the first level, the unmarked case is that of the foreign language learner who lacks information about language form and uses. And so there will be questions like: what is the plural of X? what is the past tense of Y? how do you form the possessive of this proper name? how do you spell X? how do you pronounce Y? These are all questions requesting information which the learner has not yet acquired. Notice that some of these questions (for example: how do you spell X?) and others (for example: does this word need a hyphen? how do I split this word if it crosses the line?) are normal questions which native speakers ask. The point is that there is a question (self motivated) and there is an answer to be found. When the foreign language learner guesses wrongly (examples 'under her voice' instead of 'under her breath'; 'he would of gone') a mistake results which is non systematic. This must be distinguished from the typical foreigner error which native speakers do not make (for example ' He asked me what is the time'). Dictionaries, thesauruses and the prescriptive grammarians like the Fowler brothers deal with problems of correctness at this first level.

3.2 In the case of the second level, (which one do I choose?) the typical case is that of the dialect L1 speaker who is acquiring a superposed standard language through (usually) education. This is, again typically, or at least most talked about, the case of the disadvantaged, the minority for whom the standard is not the home language, the Black English Vernacular speaker, the working class or long stay ethnic minority (though observe that the *new* ethnic minorities, for example Vietnamese in Australia, resemble more closely the foreign language

speaker than the dialect speaker of English.) The problem for such a learner is which variant to use and necessarily the problem arises most obviously when there is a real choice, that is after the learning of a particular Standard variant. Unlike foreign language learners whose fall-back from ignorance is their first language (L1), the dialect speaker's fall-back is randomness, uncertainty as to which variant to use, the dialect or the standard. Such uncertainty makes for social anxiety about being correct, which, notoriously, in turn makes for hypercorrection, excessive correction in the wrong place.

Let me give an example from my own speech. Through the common process of selfstigmatising, because I moved from /ku:t/ to /kaut/ then I also moved from /pu:t/ to /paut/[2], where, although neither accent is rhotic the presence of an orthographic /r/ seems to require maintenance of open vowel + length. What demonstrates the social nature of the standard/dialect confusion is the social stratification described by sociolinguists such as Labov (1972), according to which certain doublets controlled by standard and dialect speakers are socially or situationally distributed in such a way as to provide a means of group exclusion and of group identity. So what does being correct mean at this second level? Is it - as with the first level- essentially concerned with knowing, being skilled in the standard dialect? The answer is complex and not like that for the foreign language learner. For the foreign language learner there is only one way to be correct, to use the standard form. For the dialect speaker correctness either depends on situation or it requires a performance similar to the foreign language speaker's. If it depends on situation, then to be correct the learner must use the Standard or the dialect variant appropriately (example: *don't* as against *dinnae).* If it requires foreign language speaker-like performance then of course only the standard variant is correct. But that is the choice of the dialect speaker who, in behaving like the foreign language learner in this case had chosen to 'pass' as a standard speaker and to establish for her/himself that new identity. Precisely like the foreign language learner except that the foreign language has L1 settings into which s/he retires and in which s/he retains a primary identity. In choosing the standard language speaker's identity all the time the dialect speaker is much more like the special case of the ESL speaker who has no public interaction network in the L1 to fall back on for that primary identity.

Bloomfield seems to have felt that, linguistically speaking, mistakes were of no interest: 'mistakes in language are simply dialect forms carried into the standard language' (Bloomfield 1972/1970: 88). Much of L1 education in English and other languages is concerned at early stages with providing a facility in the standard dialect, spoken and written.

3.3 In the third case, that of the third level (how do I do it?), the typical case is that of the learner of advanced writing. Such a learner may, of course, be a standard speaker of the language in use for the written medium, or a dialect speaker, or a foreign language speaker. Such differences in status are not

relevant on this level for two reasons: first that the problem of manipulating the written language is the same for everyone whatever the starting point; second that the problems of correctness non specific to advanced writing skills will already have been dealt with under the two previous headings of foreign language learning and dialect-standard transfer.

For the advanced writing (AW) learner the question 'how do I do it?' is a genuine question and of all three learning states the one least like a translating match. The FL learner, like the DS learner, already has meanings encoded into the L1 or D1. Now the AW learner is certainly seeking the expression most suitable for the meaning s/he wishes to encode. That meaning must - as in the other cases - already be available to him/her. However, there does seem to be more than a joke in the aphorism that I don't know what I mean until I write it down. Writing, as Bacon said, makes a ready man, or Pope:

> True wit in writing comes from art not chance
> As those move easiest who have learned to dance.

Much of the underlying argument (criticism) about correctness is in reality about the lack of correctness in writing, better considered as a lack of precision, an inability to write what you mean, an incoherence or non clarity in the composition of prose texts, a failure to take the reader with you. These failures surely underline some of the unease about young people's use of English which is so often falsely attributed to a lack of awareness of the correct forms; in other words what is really a failure at the third level is attributed to one of the first two levels. Does that mean then, that in spite of giving it the wrong label most of the complaints about correctness in general are valid, so that, when Prince Charles complains that his staff's use of English is lamentable, it is indeed lamentable, not because (as he thinks) of their inability to spell (Level 1), but because of their lack of craftsmanship at Level 3 in composing coherent and appropriate prose?

Now if my analysis so far is accepted what it means is that the concept of correctness has shifted focus. While the complainers emphasise the correctness (lack of it) of form what really needs to be diagnosed is the incorrectness of composition/rhetoric/discourse/coherence of texts. These two, the formal and the functional, are confused and the conceptually easier, form, seized on as the source of the problem. What is overlooked is the sheer difficulty of composition, whether it is a letter, a report, or an argument. In the first place there are inequalities in ability: some compose with greater felicity than others; in the second place, and much more important, it has to be learnt and practised. The complaints about inadequacy are frequently made too early. As Bolton (1984) says: 'writing requires a great many skills, best learned, like the skills of any other subject, one at a time in some deliberate order' (218) and again that 'students study what they need to learn, not what they already know' (199). So often it is, exactly, *students* whose English is said to be incorrect. The sensible

answer Bolton offers is to agree, pointing out that that is precisely why they are students. More to the point perhaps, and certainly more fun would be to do what Sledd (1985) has done and to subject their professors to a similar analysis. But that is another story. What I would argue is that the correctness complaints need to be more clearly defined, less global, to relate more sensitively to the speaker/writer and to analyse the language failure or breakdown more satisfactorily, which means more linguistically. More precision from a Bolton is what is needed, less emotion from a John Simon who writes:

'The English language is being treated nowadays exactly as slave traders once handled the merchandise in their slave ships, or as the inmates of concentration camps were dealt with by their Nazi jailers' (Simon 1980: 97).

3.4 I return now to the question I raised earlier. Is the whole effort of language planning vain or, if there are different levels of correctness, are some correctness activities pointless while others are valid? I am ready at this point to offer three partial answers to these questions.

3.4.1 First, no: language planning of the correctness type is not vain. It is after all as Milroy and Milroy (1985) point out an important contribution towards language standardisation which Johnson and Gowers, yes and the SPE (to which I come in a moment) et al have contributed. Of course they were not fixing the language, not ascertaining it as Swift seems to have desired, in the sense of preventing further changes. Even if that is what they desired and thought they were doing (and as I said earlier the greater the effort at prescription the greater the doubt about its efficacy) what they did helped in the process of standardisation which by its nature is an activity of obsolescence, never finished, with no final product. Milroy and Milroy (1985) generously praise those who complain most shrilly about the decline of the language (the 'henny-penny' view as it has been called) on the grounds that even though their targets are trivial (such as a loss of the differential *disinterested/uninterested)* they remind us all that languages require maintenance, just like other social institutions and indeed like people.

3.4.2 Second, I argue that prescription is most effective as prescription where it comes closest to description, above all, of course, in dictionary making and pedagogical grammars. Indeed the role of pedagogy in the writing of all descriptive grammars is seriously undervalued. Where linguistics is theory bound, it is parts of a grammar, prolegomena to a description, that emerge; where linguistics becomes descriptive, a major impetus is the pedagogic, widely interpreted, the ascertaining for foreign learners, for literacy and for translation and publishing.

3.4.3 Third, I argue that correctness is helpfully seen as operating on three levels, each responding to a different question, the what do I do? the which one do I choose? and the how do I do it? (Table 1) In turn each question relates to a different status or purpose of language learning and language use. I maintain that it is imporant to keep these three levels distinct in terms of analysis while, of course, accepting that they may overlap in individual cases. I further conclude that the three levels properly reflect different types of learning with consequent different types of sanction.

3.4.3.1 The first (the *what* question) level indicates two problems for the foreign learner, the mistake of ignorance because s/he does not yet know what to do, and the error of the intervening system or interlanguage. I have suggested that the second problem is self-eradicating, as all Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies show. The solution to the first problem depends on the foreign learner's increasing knowledge of the target language, as it does with the native speaker. The sanctions for the foreign learner are in the first instance to fail to be understood and in the second instance to be wrongly categorised, in other words to become so native-like that false expectations of status arise.

3.4.3.2 The second (the *which* question) level is placed centrally in all educational systems and points at the extreme to complaints of educational disadvantage as well as to the dilemma of loss of social identity. Unlike the *what* and the *how* questions (levels 1 and 3), this is an attitudinal question not a linguistic one.

3.4.3.3 The *how* question (level 3) is a properly linguistic question, like 1 and not like 2. The rationale for this distinction is that 1 concerns the mechanics, the forms, and 3 the combining in discourse of those forms. No 2 is educational rather than linguistic because, since the variants/options are known the right choice is attitudinal. At levels 1 and 3 the right answer is not yet known.

The following matrix brings these components together:

	Identity	Linguistic	Stylistic
Level 1	/	/	x
Level 2	/	x	/
Level 3	x	/	/

Table 2: Distinguishing Levels

Levels 1 and 2 are similar in the dilemmas they raise about identity; Levels 1 and 3 are similar in that they both concern new language skills; Levels 2 and 3 are similar in that they both relate to problems of appropriateness.

4. The Society for Pure English

I want now to comment briefly on the work of the Society for Pure English asking for our purposes what if any level of correctness most exercised the Society in its work and how useful that work was.
The Society for Pure English (SPE) was founded in Oxford in 1913 and continued until 1948. During this period it issued 66 Tracts, a term loaded with Oxford history. Whether deliberate or not there is an inevitable association with the Tractarians, the nineteenth century Oxford Movement of Anglo Catholicism. The SPE had a mission, the preservation, defence and elaboration of English. Because of the Great War, Tract 1 did not appear until 1919. It contained the SPE manifesto or 'Original Prospectus' under the names of Robert Bridges, Logan Pearsall-Smith, Walter Raleigh and Henry Bradley. As three of those names suggest the SPE was largely a concern of those involved in literature, but then so is the French Academy, to which the SPE looked with some respect. The aims of the SPE are set out in that 'Original Prospectus':

'Literary education in England (sic) would seem in one grave respect to lack efficiency, for it does not inspire writers with a due sense of responsibility towards their native speech. In most European countries men (sic) of letters, and the better class of journalists, are trained to observe the changes of the language, and to assist consciously in its development, being guided by acknowledged principles of tradition and taste. But the English language, which is now rapidly spreading over the world, is subject to no such guidance, and to very little intelligent criticism. It is therefore proposed that a few men of letters, supported by the scientific alliance of the best linguistic authorities, should form a group or free association, and agree upon a modest and practical scheme for informing popular taste on sound principles, for guiding educational authorities, and for introducing into practice certain slight modifications and advantageous changes.' (SPE 1, 1919: 5/6)

In a later Tract, written after Bridges' death, Pearsall Smith provides recollections of the founding of the SPE, commenting:
'A few of us were talking one afternoon in that home of leisurely conversation, the library of Chilswell - the date must have been somewhere in January 1913 - about the state of the English language and the dangers which seemed to be threatening it under modern conditions. How would it be possible, we asked....to safeguard our inherited form of speech from some at least of these dangers, to help defend its integrity and beauty, and make it, perhaps, into an even more adequate means of expression for modern ideas.' (SPE 35 1931: 482).
So the claim was that English lacked efficiency, writers did not have a sense of responsibility toward their native speech, it lacked intelligent criticism. It is difficult today not to find this breast-beating list of defects risible. What is being

talked about is the feelings or attitudes of the founders of the SPE: no analysis is offered, no diagnosis of the inadequacies of English which they found so obvious. What is ironic is that in the same Tract 1 the processes of organic development are praised for their past achievement but condemned for their present continuation. It is as though the SPE founders knew exactly how a language grows but were not prepared to see it continue in the same way. This is double think of the worst variety, worse even than the romantic prelapsarianism of wanting to turn the clock back to some mythic perfect state. Worse, because in spite of their realistic understanding of how English had come to be, they approach it in a self-regarding way, assuming that its future was wholly controllable - and by them! The 'Original Prospectus' of Tract 1 continues:

'The ideal of the Society is that our language in its future development should be controlled by the forces and processes which have formed it in the past; that it should keep its English character and that the new elements added to it should be in harmony with the old. The Society, therefore, will place itself in opposition to certain tendencies of modern taste; which taste it hopes gradually to modify and improve.' (SPE 1 1919: 6/7)

The means suggested by the SPE founders for controlling language development involved:

1. the systematising of word coinage,
2. encouraging local dialects, and
3. restoring the old harmonious cadencies of traditional speech.

Such a manifesto easily falls prey to the contemptuous dismissal by Gowers which I quoted above. But during its 30 odd years there was more to the SPE than this list of dilettante affectations, more realism to it too than this sense of Oxford (that home of lost causes) controlling English development which comes through from the official policy statements.
In the first place, the contributors included serious linguistic scholars. H W Fowler, O Jespersen, W A Craigie, C T Onions gave its views linguistic credibility. In the second place, there are articles describing various contact language influences on English vocabulary, on Basic, on Indian and American English and on slang. The Tracts, in other words, may have begun in a dilettante manner but the range of topics indicates the need at the time to provide for the kind of descriptions of contemporary English that for example Quirk et al's later *Survey of Modern English* was to provide through its many publications. As for my levels of correctness, however, it is Level 1 that is mainly dealt with (by Fowler and Jespersen). Level 2 has some attention, though in a not very satisfactory polemical way (for example 'The Best English, a claim for the Superiority of

Received Standard English' in Tract 39 1934) and Level 3 not really at all. Fowler himself was concerned, if not very systematically, with correctness questions at this level, as comes through in his *Modern English Usage* of 1926 and even more in the developments of Fowler in, for example, Gowers (1954). But on the whole, no, that most important level is not one which the academies and the societies see as a language problem; for them it is wholly literary.
It is not.

5. Institutionalised correctness in a language test

In my Introduction to this paper, I referred to the importance of correctness views in institutional interventions on language in society and gave particular mention to the role of language tests. I turn now to this topic.
I will take as my example a current English Foreign language proficiency test, known as the Oxford-ARELS Examination in EFL. The Rationale for the test explains that it meets 'a need for practical and non-literary writing and reading tests aimed at non-literary students and based on authentic tasks. The aim is to test what teachers believe should be taught and not to divorce the structure of the tests from what happens in the classroom.' (Rationale, Oxford Delegacy and ARELS 1989).
I want to cite three parts of the test, all for the Higher Level version. This level, we are told, 'aims to determine whether students at an Advanced Upper or Intermediate stage would thrive in an English speaking environment, for example, in an international office or living in an English-speaking country.' (Information Leaflet 1989).

5.1 My first example comes from Section 4 of the Higher Spoken English Test (No 41). In this Section the candidate's understanding of a spoken text is tested. The spoken text consists of an interview with a gamekeeper and the test consists of comprehension questions to which the candidate must provide a spoken response which is taped for later scoring. Here is an excerpt just after the start of the interview (the questions are omitted):

Interviewer:
'Why are crossbows popular with the poachers?'

Gamekeeper:
'Unfortunately, it's not the most accurate of things, but er, it certainly kills deer. Unfortunately from the deer's point of view, it doesn't kill them that well, you know, so there's a lot of deer running round with arrows in them. And, er, a friend of ours on the other side of the estate found one that had been running for at least three days with an arrow in it, and they never did catch up with it, you know, so that's gone to die somewhere.'

Interviewer:

But poaching has been a good country game, hasn't it? Is it getting worse?'

Gamekeeper:

'Er, as to 'good country game', I suppose back in the eighteen hundreds when, er, people were on very low wages, it was a good way of, you know, providing food for the family, but I'm afraid that really is no longer the case. This is just out and out theft. It's big money.'

What this excerpt illustrates is that the sample of spoken English offered to candidates at an advanced level is quite unlike real spoken English in spite of the protestations about authenticity. The text is a good example of what Abercrombie (1965) calls 'spoken prose.' There are, it is true, a number of filled hesitations inserted in the Gamekeeper's turns but they do no more, I suggest, than indicate that this is pretending to be speech. In fact it is a text read aloud. No harm in that, as I shall point out later, but what I draw attention to here is the corrected idealised nature of the offered stimuli. What the candidates must respond to is a very correct - and quite unnatural form of spoken English, essentially written English read aloud.

5.2 My second example is from Section 12 of the same test. Here what is being tested is spoken everyday language. The candidate hears various everyday remarks and is required to respond with a suitable comment. Here are three of the remarks the candidate hears:

1. 'I think I left my cigarette lighter at your place last night. Have you seen it?'
2. 'I'm trying to get myself a new flat, and I need some people to give me a reference. Could I give your name?'
6. 'I'd like to get in touch with you some time next week. How could I contact you?'

The message I want to point to here is the dialect sampled for the test. It is only too obvious that it is Standard English in one or other of its spoken accents. And notice that here the test is not meant to be illustrating the written language where standard English would be unremarkable. No, it is the spoken language that is being tested and the dialect selected is the standard dialect. Indeed, it is unremarkable that the language of the test should be, even for the spoken language, Standard English. Once again, we can see that what the candidate is required to understand even in the spoken language is the 'correct', homogenised, semi-idealised dialect of Standard English. Again, with good reason as I explain shortly.

5.3 My third example comes from the Writing section of the test (Higher Paper 1, June 1989). In this question the candidate is provided with a letter from a pen-friend, herself an English learner. The candidate's instructions are:

'A pen-friend of yours is interested in taking a temporary job in Norway. She has written a letter of application and has asked you to check it. You have read the letter and have decided that it is easier to rewrite it completely than to correct individual mistakes. Do so, also making any alterations to letter layout and organization you feel appropriate.'

Here is the first part of the letter text:

'Dear sirs,
I am kindly requesting you to make it possible by your mediation, to get a job in Norway in 1989 year. I am interested in work at Agriculture (picking up strawberries and other fruits, helping on farm), doing babysitting. I am also room-painter, I can cover walls with wallpaper and do other things of that kind.'

Now what is required here is of course correction because the letter contains a number of mistakes. But the mistakes are all of the Level 1 kind of the taxonomy I offered earlier. They are not serious problems of the Level 3 (Advanced Writing) kind, because the meaning intended by the original writer of the letter is clear: what holds it up is mistakes of form: 'kindly, mediation, 1989 year, at Agriculture, picking up strawberries, fruits, helping on farm, doing babysitting(?) I am room painter, cover walls, other things...' These are all straightforwardly correctable but such correction gives no indication of whether a candidate can compose a coherent text. Of course there are other writing questions in this test including two requiring open ended compositions. But my point is not that the test is somehow incomplete; rather I am concerned with the sampling of English offered.

5.4 In all three cases, I submit, there is restriction, homogenisation, idealisation; in the first two 'correct' English of two different kinds is illustrated; in the third while some examples of mistake are presented, these are at the expense of (indeed in lieu of) the serious type of incorrectness at my Level 3, that of lack of coherence in writing.
At the same time all three offer satisfactory samples of Standard English, samples which indicate the real model to be aimed at by the learner, samples also which are testable in the ways that my three levels of correctness all reduce to. They are all about the standard language, its difference from a foreign language, from a non standard dialect, from non coherent text. That is what all tests of English necessarily test because those are the proper goals aimed at in all social institutional settings, above all in education.

In so doing, pace the SPE, it is not the case that:

1. language change is curtailed;
2. the language becomes less flexible and resourceful; it may lose geographical variation but it gains professional and social variety.

Furthermore there is a sense in which the increasing impact of the standard as the one educational model itself acts as a drive on structural development. This is particularly the case where the responsibility for carrying the language forward lies with second language users, as is increasingly the case for example with Welsh, where we may predict the early loss of lenition for that very reason of non useful redundancy.

6. The meaning of the correctness argument

We are now is a position to review what the correctness arguments are really about. There are, I suggest two basic kinds and it is useful to keep them apart, even though they often overlap. The first is that of correctness as part of the standardising process, my Level 1 and the approach of the serious prescriptivists. The second is that of the complaints lobby, those who talk about the death of the language and who typically focus on the table manners aspect of language use, the choice of the wrong fork or in this case the 'wrong' variant. A typical example is that of Simon who writes: 'If you continue to use *between you and I* instead of *between you and me* there will soon be no more communication between you and me' (1980: 21). The concentration of the complainers on items such as these suggests their concern with what I have called Level 2 (the Dialect-Standard distinction). Once again there is here concern with standardisation. Or so it seems.

I would rather argue that the complainers are, when they are not simply bewailing loss of the past, really talking about Level 3, an inefficiency in advanced writing. Their blaming this on the wrong choice in a finite set of well known paired choices in English (for example *owing to/due to),* which are often indicators of social insecurity leading to hypercorrection, simply means that they themselves are unable to be analytical about language. It also makes gatekeeping very much easier because it reduces fine discrimination among writing styles to a set of binary black and white choices. No doubt these are meant to be only symbols of elaborate skills but as with all such social conventions they can lose the sense of what they symbolise and come to stand for nothing but themselves, secret cabalistic indicators of good breeding or, in the case of language correctness, of good grammar.

The SPE founders contained both complainers and prescriptivists but even the complainers had the good sense to see beyond these symbols. In my view it was the inadequacy in advanced writing which the SPE manifesto was really talking about. And that is not a new problem or one that will go away. The need for that type of correctness is an enduring one; it is a fundamental problem of language learning and has to be learnt afresh in every generation..

Notes

1 For example: 'It is bad enough that some of our news readers and radio announcers cannot pronounce Antartic but when a man who aspires to become our next Prime Minister fails to pronounce it correctly what hope have we for his aspirations to improve the educational standard of the populace in this, The Year of Literacy?' The Australian (Letters) 20.3. 1990.

2 Orthographically: court/coat; port

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SECTION II

ISSUES IN IMPLEMENTATION

Standard Australian English as a second
language and as a second dialect
Susan Kaldor

The Philippine Variety of English and
the Problem of Standardization
Andrew Gonzalez

Models for Written English In Malaysia
Irene F H Wong

The Status of English and the Question of 'Standard'
in Singapore: A Sociolinguistic Perspective
Anne Pakir

Stakeholders and Standards: Englishes for Tomorrow's India
Makhan L Tickoo

Standard Australian English as a second language and as a second dialect.

Susan Kaldor

The aim of this paper is to explore differences in the role of Standard Australian English (hereinafter abbreviated to SAusE) in a variety of language educational programmes in which Australian teachers of English have been engaged over the past few decades. The implications for teaching approaches and practices of the existence of such differences will be discussed and an attempt will be made to identify areas in need of future research. The emphasis will be on programmes which involve second language or second dialect teaching approaches. In order to consider these matters it will be necessary to define SAusE for the purposes of this paper and to indicate some areas of difference between it and other standard varieties of English.

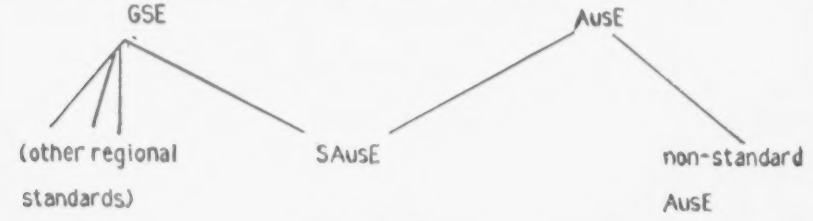
As any writer faced with the task of using the term Standard English knows all too well, the concept for which the term stands is singularly elusive. There seems to be a great deal of uncertainty in its use and variations occur along several dimensions, a few of which have to be briefly considered here.

There seems to be a consensus in the literature that Standard English is a variety which, like other standard varieties, has certain distinctive properties developed throughout its history through such processes as *selection, codification, elaboration* and *acceptance* (Hudson, 1980: 33) and which therefore plays a distinctive role in nations and speech communities where it is used as a native or as a foreign or as a second language. However, there is no complete consistency as regards the referent of the term in actual usage. It is applied at times to indicate an abstract entity larger than its component regional varieties, a sum total of those varieties. In other formulations it is seen as an entity which consists only of the shared properties of all of its component varieties, a non-regional, denationalised variety suited to global communication. Some regard it as an ideal to be achieved through English language education, a norm towards which speakers strive. Some writers use the term as though it represented a code, the principal role of which is to perform the function of serving as a vehicle of official, formal, scientific and scholarly communication. Occasionally the term is used without qualifying adjectives to refer to a standard regional variety. In recent years many linguists have come to see Standard English as a *dialect* but it is not always made clear whether the term *dialect* then indicates the global, overarching variety or a regional variety of it, though mostly the term *regional standard* is added when distinctive properties of regional varieties are in focus.

In this paper regional standards will be referred to by specific labels, e.g. *Standard British English* (SBE), *Standard American English* (SAmE), *Standard Australian English* (SAusE). The term *General Standard English* (GSE) will be used to refer to the common core of the various regional standards. The term *International English* will also be used to refer to this latter variety in certain contexts for the sake of simplicity, although it is realized that the two terms may evoke very different connotations, the term *standard* suggesting norms, standardisation, unity and a single model and the term *international* suggesting accommodation, negotiation and a plurality of models (see e.g. Kachru, 1985: 29, Smith, 1983: v).

Regional standard Englishes have recently been classified by Kachru (1985: 16) into three types associated with three "fellowships of English", viz the *norm providing varieties* (the inner circle), which include primarily the British and the American models; the *norm-developing varieties* (the outer circle) and *the norm-dependent varieties* (the expanding circle). Kachru mentions Australian and New Zealand varieties under the first heading but notes that "there is still resistance toward accepting these varieties" as models. This matter will be further explored later in this paper.

SAusE is defined for the purposes of this paper as a regional standard dialect of English recognized by Australians with a certain (though not accurately specifiable) level of education obtained in Australia as being a suitable vehicle for expressing themselves *in official, formal as well as in informal situations in speech and in writing*. While it shares a common core with the two main norm-providing varieties, SBE and SAmE, it also differs from them in a number of features. It is suggested that such a definition is useful as it allows for the inclusion not only of written academic or official discourse but also of discourse features, colloquialisms, ellipses, and other aspects of what Milroy and Milroy (1985: 145) have called *unplanned discourse*. It can be extended also to the examination of pragmatic rules and the ethnography of communication associated with SAusE. It will be argued that, from a pedagogical point of view, a holistic picture is more appropriate than one which limits the notion of a standard to official and written manifestations. SAusE is thus seen as a variety which has ties with both GSE and *Australian English* (AusE), this latter term being reserved for an entity that includes both standard and non-standard Australian speech. This can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



Having said that SAusE is a distinct dialect, we may, following Kachru (1965), now address the question as to what constitutes the *Australianness* of SAusE. This will necessitate a brief glance at the literature available on AusE in general.

While recent years have seen a proliferation of research on AusE, the literature available is still far from presenting anywhere near as complete a picture as is available on BE or AmE. It has to be remembered that the scholarly study of AusE is of very recent origin. It is only since the pioneering works of writers such as Mitchell and Delbridge in the forties, fifties and sixties that AusE in any of its varieties has been deemed to be worthy of serious scholarly attention. Before that time whatever was Australian about AusE was regarded by many as deviations from SBE, the main prestige model in Australia for many years. The only items of AusE which were recognised as valid contributions to the prestige model were specifically Australian vocabulary items relevant to the Australian physical environment - flora, fauna, geographical features of the landscape - which entered the general stock of English words all around the world. As Mitchell describes vividly in one of his early publications on AusE, British visitors to Australia were critical of and made derisory comments on Australian speech, especially with regard to Australian pronunciation. It is therefore understandable that he set out to answer the impressionistic, unscientific criticisms with the first scholarly and objective study of the pronunciation of AusE (Mitchell, 1947).

Perhaps because of the low prestige overseas and within the community itself of the Australian accent, and possibly because it is the most immediately recognisable characteristic of the *Australianness* of AusE, phonology has continued up to this day to be one of the most widely studied areas. Much of the emphasis has been on what Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) regarded as the 'diagnostic' vowel sounds in the words *beat, boot, say, so, high* and *how*, differences in which led the authors to identify three main categories of Australian speech spread all over the continent, viz *Broad Australian, General Australian and Cultivated Australian*. The realisations of these vowel sounds form a spectrum, with broad speakers being at the end farthest from, and cultivated speakers being closest to BE Received Pronunciation. Other phonological features studied over the years have included elisions, intonation and more recently, consonantal variables (Horvath, 1985), connected speech processes (Ingram, 1989) and the *High Rising Tone* (Horvath, 1985) also known as the *Australian Questioning Intonation*, a "high-rising intonational contour on declarative clauses, where no question is intended" (Guy and Vonwiller, 1989), used especially by young female speakers. Increasingly sophisticated sociolinguistic analytical methods applied to phonological data during the past few years (Horvath, 1985, Guy and Vonwiller, 1989, Lee, 1989) have called

attention to changes currently in progress in Australian speech and have pointed to the need for revising Mitchell and Delbridge's original classification. However, in spite of all the revisions in categorisation and in spite of changes that have occurred since Mitchell and Delbridge's studies, the fact remains that some Australian phonological features are more likely to be associated with standard speech than others.

It is often argued by dialectologists that accent should be seen as distinct from other features of a dialect as it is possible to speak with standard grammar and vocabulary use but with a distinctive regional accent (e.g. Trudgill, 1975, Strevens, 1983). In the Australian case it is possible for someone to speak with a broad Australian accent and with standard grammar, using only formal vocabulary. From the point of view of pedagogical implications, however, it is important to know more about the relationship between the use of standard grammar and the position of the speaker's pronunciation along the spectrum from Broad through General to Cultivated Australian. So far this aspect has not received much attention. We have defined SAusE as a dialect which serves its speakers in all communicative functions in their daily lives. It is thus an integral system of which phonology is an essential part. When SAusE serves as a target and model variety in English language education programmes, it is important to determine what its phonological properties are.

Apart from phonology, it is the vocabulary, idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms of AusE that have been the most extensively studied. There is a wealth of literature on distinctive Australian vocabulary usages (see Blair, 1978, Collins and Blair, 1989). During the past decade two very important dictionaries of AusE have been published, viz the Macquarie Dictionary (Delbridge, 1981) and the Australian National Dictionary (Ramson, 1988). In order to identify some of the needs of language education programmes, it will be necessary to review briefly the coverage of these two works.

The Macquarie Dictionary is an extensive (88,000 headwords) dictionary of English aimed especially at the Australian user whom it serves as a complete guide not only to Australianisms but to the general stock of English words. It is not complementary to other standard works, but rather is intended to serve as an alternative comprehensive dictionary of English for Australians. The exclusively Australian vocabulary and idiom and the general stock of English words are merged in a single alphabetical ordering. In his introductory essay Delbridge divides the contents of the dictionary into two large classes: The first is the class of General Words, this category having two subclasses: (i) words labelled *colloquial* and (ii) unlabelled words. The latter are deemed to be suited to both formal and informal use, while the former, labelled, words are appropriate only for use when the speaker or writer is not under constraint to choose formal vocabulary but feels free to choose from the "informal, slang, vulgar or taboo elements of the lexicon" (p. 15). The second major class is that of words in

specialised areas such as scientific terms, terms used in various occupations etc. The dictionary also contains words in 'peripheral areas' such as the vocabulary of minorities and alternative cultures. Some obsolete words which had currency in earlier periods of Australian history are also included.

The Australian National Dictionary is very different from the Macquarie Dictionary as it is a dictionary exclusively devoted to Australianisms. It is not intended to be a dictionary for general use, but is rather aimed at a readership with serious scholarly interest in Australian history, Australian literature and the history and current state of AusE. The 10,000 entries represent words which "originated in Australia, which have a greater currency [in Australia] ... than elsewhere and which have special significance because of their connection with an aspect of the history of the country" (Ramson, 1988: vi). The dictionary contains words in general use as well as vocabulary specific to certain occupations or activities, eg shearing and goldmining. Entries on a single page may include items frequently heard in contemporary conversation, items which have become obsolete, and items which had or have rather restricted use.

The scholarly literature on the Australian lexicon has been supplemented by a whole spectrum of writings ranging from collections of Australianisms for the general reader (Baker 1945, Wilkes 1986, Delbridge 1984), through works of fiction, to a burgeoning stock of popular and humorous writings devoted to Australianisms such as O'Grady's Aussie English (O'Grady 1965) and Let Stalk Strine by 'Afferbeck Lauder' (Lauder 1966, the pseudonym being a play on the term 'alphabetical order' as pronounced in 'Strine'). In addition to the printed literature there is also a great deal of source material on Australianisms available in the electronic media and in films. Media celebrities have taken Australianisms to international audiences, occasionally popularising until then rarely used words and idiomatic expressions and at items actually inventing Australianisms. The use of Australianisms for humorous effect by entertainers has been a growing trend. The very terms mocking Australian English, *Strine* and *ockerism* have become part and parcel of the lexicon of AusE.

In all this rich (from the point of view of an ESL learner perhaps too rich) pool of Australianisms it is quite difficult for teachers or material writers engaged in ESL programmes to separate out from the mix of relevant and irrelevant material an appropriate selection of items which are *known to and frequently or occasionally used by* speakers of SAusE and which would therefore be useful for their students to know and understand even if these students themselves may not use some or any of them in their own speech. Such a selection may contain a number of very different types of items, to single out just a few types:

(a) words and phrases which are not colloquialisms but have distinctive Australian meanings eg *backyard, station, barrack, thong, bush, outback, scrub, paddock, lay-by, home unit, licensed restaurant;*

(b) colloquialisms used by many people who would consider themselves to be SAusE speakers and who would regard these as being acceptable and indeed appropriate in many situations eg *shoot through* (leave suddenly), *beaut, beauty* (excellent), *it's my shout* (my turn to pay for drinks or food), *mozzie* (mosquito) *bite, reggo* (car registration), *he's a mug, a nong* (stupid, silly, a fool), *grog* (alcoholic drink), *it's a stinker / scorcher* (a very hot day), *a journo* (a journalist), *give it a go* (try it, make an attempt at doing it), *fair go* (give someone or something a chance, be fair), *fair dinkum* (true, genuine), *to rubbish* (tease), *tucker* (food), *ute* (small truck), *esky* (container to carry and keep cool drinks), *Buckley's chance* (no chance), *good on you* (speaker approval of what hearer has said or done), *bring a plate* (contribute a dish to a party), *feeling crook* (unwell), *offsider* (assistant), *a rort* (a racket, taking dishonest financial advantage of a situation), *see you later* (used as a general phrase on parting, not necessarily intending to or believing to be in a position to see the addressee later), *she'll be right* (it'll be O.K);

(c) acronyms and abbreviations in everyday currency in conversations by SAusE speakers, eg TAFE (Technical and Further Education), Dip Ed (Diploma of Education), TAB (Totalisator Agency Board), BYO (bring your own drinks to a party), VFL (Victorian Football League);

(d) words and phrases relating to specifically Australian referents, viz Australian flora, fauna (many of which have their origins in Aboriginal languages), Aboriginal life, features of the Australian landscape and Australian institutions, eg *wattle, wallaby, dingo, brolga, claypan, waterhole, corroboree, dreamtime, dreaming, sacred site, legislative assembly, legislative council, double dissolution;*

(e) food and other products and brand names some of which have become symbols or badges of national identity eg *pavlova, lamington, Akubra, vegemite* and

(f) Colloquialisms and turns of phrase which may be shared with speakers of other regional standards, but which occur frequently in the casual speech of speakers of SAusE eg *have a yarn, fair enough.*

In much of both the scholarly and popular literature all the above categories of items - items that may be classed as Australianisms in common use and therefore of interest to ESL learners - are merged with items of limited current use, viz items less likely to be used by SAusE speakers, items of relevance to specialized groups only (eg shearers' vocabulary), items that are

archaic or of historical interest only (eg wartime slang), items that are folksy, exaggerated, rarely used and items invented for entertainment or for stereotyping AusE speech. There seems to be a definite need for research on the question of what part of the specifically Australian vocabulary and phrase stock is regularly used by speakers of SAusE and can therefore be regarded as a component of SAusE.

While AusE pronunciation, vocabulary and idiom have been in the limelight in both the scholarly and popular literature, there has been much less focus on distinctive features of grammar and it seems that there are very few such features in which SAusE differs from SBE or SAmE. Most of the observations relevant to grammatical usage by SAusE speakers refer to trends and ongoing changes rather than well established distinctive features. In some grammatical features which reflect ongoing change SAusE is somewhere between SAmE and SBE, in some aspects closer to SAmE, in others closer to SBE and in yet others differing from both. Examples noted in the literature include such features as a tendency to use *will* and *would* instead of *shall* and *should*, in first person subjects; a preference for singular verbs with collective nouns as in *the team has won* ... (Trudgill and Hannah, 1982); a preference for negatives with *do* in question tags attached to *have to* as in *they have to ..., don't they* (Collins, 1989). A preference for *or* over *nor* in alternative statements, for *but* over *yet* in adversative statements and a high overall level of subordinating conjunctions in newspaper data were noted by Peters et al (1988). Collins, (1989: 148), while emphasising that at this stage only tentative conclusions can be reached, observes that where there is linguistic change in progress, Australian speakers are "less linguistically conservative than their American and particularly British counterparts". Some of the findings of his study also indicate that in the case of some items associated with strong normative prescriptions, Australian speakers are often ready to flout the norm.

Most other writers who have looked at distinctive grammatical usages in AusE have concentrated mainly on non-standard varieties (Eagleson, 1976, Shnukal, 1978, Eisikovits, 1989). These will be considered later in this paper.

An area that has hardly been touched and one that needs to be explored most urgently for pedagogical purposes is spoken and written discourse patterning. A few writers have made a start in this field, eg Clyne (1985a), Neustupny (1985), Poynton (1989), but a great deal more has to be done. Much has been said in the sociological and popular literature about 'the Australian character' but there is little documentation in the sociolinguistic or applied linguistic literature of how certain character traits or societal values translate into verbal interaction or discourse patterns. Renwick (1983), studying American-Australian interaction in Asian settings in multinational business firms and in cross-cultural exchange programmes conducted for these firms, noted that while Americans placed highest values on loyalty to work, Australians were more

concerned with mateship. Australians displayed less respect for exceptional qualities of others, tended to speak cynically, used "hundreds of casual, colourful terms to suggest a tone of amiable, tolerant contempt", were suspicious of pretensions and did not favour hierarchies in social interaction. His work, as Clyne's, Neustupny's and Poynton's, point to a need for much more future research. We are far from having available even a sketchy outline of an ethnography of Australian communication. Speech events, genres, discourse strategies associated with SAusE are areas waiting to be explored. It is likely that it is in this area that speakers of SAusE will be found to differ most markedly from speakers of both SBE and SAmE.

Another newly emerging research area is concerned with contemporary linguistic change in SAusE. One of the significant changes is the growing influence on SAusE of American vocabulary, grammatical usage, idiomatic expressions and discourse patterns (Sussex, 1989, Taylor, 1989, Peter and Fee, 1989). Examples include *to access, to trial, to impact on something;* the greeting *hi* competing with the formerly exclusive use of *hello* in comparable situations; *guy* competing with *bloke, movies* competing with *pictures*. Just how SAusE will accommodate this influx is of considerable interest.

In addition to the features noted in the foregoing, a general feature of AusE must also be mentioned as this is of considerable interest to educational planners, viz the remarkable homogeneity of the dialect throughout the continent. While recent years have seen a proliferation of studies on regional variation (Ramson, 1989, Bryant, 1989, Bernard 1989, Bradley, 1989) and while the regional differences which are being identified are of obvious significance and interest, such differences are only minor and certainly do not present any communication problems to speakers of AusE from any two parts of the continent.

So far we have considered SAusE from the point of view of its distinctiveness from SBE and SAE. From a pedagogical point of view it is equally important to look at another delineation - the boundaries between SAusE and non-standard varieties of English spoken in Australia. From this point of view SAusE can be characterized mainly in negative terms, eg SAusE does <u>not</u> have certain features which have been isolated by various writers in two varieties of non-standard spoken in Australia, viz one that may be called General Australian Non-standard English spoken by some Australian born speakers of Anglo-Celtic-Australian backgrounds, and the other, Aboriginal English, spoken by some Australians of Aboriginal descent. Varieties of the former have been described by Eagleson (1976), Shnukal (1978) Eisikovits (1989) and others. Some typical features of this variety as illustrated by Eagleson (1976) are: use of present forms for past function of certain verbs, eg come ("last Saturday ... when she come in"), 'have omission' ("It's the way they been brought up"); 'done' in past tense function ("I done all the talking"); 'weren't' for 'wasn't' ("She weren't

scared any more"); double negatives ("they're not gonna hit me no more"), adjectival forms used for adverbs ("she could speak as good as they could"), them for those ("there is something wrong with them people"). It needs to be noted that many of the features of this variety are not really exclusive to AusE as a virtually identical list occurs in many other non-standard dialects of English (cf Trudgill, 1975: 44).

Aboriginal English, in some of its varieties, displays many more features that are exclusive to it. There is a wide continuum ranging from Southern urban varieties to those spoken in Northern and desert areas. The urban varieties share many features with General Australian Non-standard English while the varieties spoken in the North display evidence of influences from both the original indigenous Aboriginal languages and from the new English-based creoles (especially the variety now known in the distinctive spelling *Kriol*, see eg Sandefur, 1985) spoken by Aboriginal people in the North. In this paper it is not possible to include the long list of features which characterise the Northern varieties of Aboriginal English, but perhaps a few selected examples listed by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982, 1985) may give the reader some illustration of the fact that this dialect, while sharing some features with other non-standard dialects of English around the world, is, indeed, distinctive and exclusive to the Australian continent. These are as follows: *bin* plus invariable present of a verb corresponding to GSE past tense ("e bin fall down" = he fell down); the transitive maker *-im* (we bin takeim cake for him) *gotta* functioning as instrumental (he got the butterfly gotta net); *'e got* corresponding to SE' there is, there are' ('e got big long school there), copula omission (my name really Bill), exclusive first person plural pronoun *mipela* or *mela* (mipela went to Derby), *longa* or *la* in locative and allative function (go la nother tree). Aboriginal English also uses a stock of distinctive vocabulary items, some having their origins in Aboriginal languages (my daddy ... 'e bin chase that *karlaya* [emu]), others in creoles, yet others being distinctive Aboriginal usages of standard English vocabulary items, eg the word *cousin brother* meaning parallel cousin.

Having attempted to delineate SAusE from other varieties of Standard on the one hand, and from non-standard varieties of English spoken in Australia on the other, we may now turn to the role that SAusE plays in different English language educational programmes in Australia.

The main English language educational programmes involving second language or second dialect teaching approaches are as follows: (1) English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) (2) ESL for child and adult immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds and for speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages; and (3) Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect to speakers of Aboriginal English.

Before looking at the various categories of teaching tasks outlined above, it will be useful to recall a distinction frequently made in the applied linguistics

literature - the distinction between *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation of the learners. The motivation of learners of English in Australia is likely to be tied up with the question as to whether the learner is a permanent resident in Australia (or wishes to become one), or whether he/she is a *sojourner*, here for limited periods of time and pursuing specific goals such as learning English or undertaking tertiary or postgraduate studies. There will, of course, be many individual differences and differences depending on the length of time the learner expects to be in Australia, but it can be assumed that in sojourners on the whole instrumental motivation is likely to be stronger, while in intending or actual permanent residents integrative motivation is likely to dominate. On the basis of such distinctions ELICOS programmes differ markedly from the other two types of programme.

ELICOS is a vigorous industry which has, over the past ten years, produced a great proliferation of programmes. The use of the term 'industry' seems justified as tertiary institutions and private colleges, all members of the ELICOS Association and all approved by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training, vie with each other in marketing their courses in many countries especially in Asia. It originated from the realisation that there is a great demand in the region for learning English in a country where English is the first language of the majority of the population and where, as a consequence, a 'native-like' competence in English can be acquired. While the Australian environment with its clement climate, spaciousness and attractive cities (the ELICOS brochure of the University of Western Australia advertises Perth as a "relaxed, attractive and safe city") and Australia's proximity to Asian countries are themselves strong selling points, the ELICOS industry also emphasizes the fact that Australia has joined the United Kingdom and the United States as another great centre for learning English. This reflects a growing confidence in the use of SAusE as an entry point to International English as the students' ultimate aim is to gain proficiency in English which should be usable anywhere around the world.

While in the brochures of some individual programmes it is explicitly stated that their courses provide an introduction to Australian culture and Australian life in general and to Australian tertiary life in particular, explicit overall policies relevant to the role of SAusE and the relationship between SAusE and International English do not seem to have been formulated as yet. ELICOS courses may use materials written in SBE, SAmE as well as SAusE (though the latter are not available in abundance). Teachers themselves come from a variety of standard English speaking backgrounds and are by no means all speakers of SAusE. The thrust of the teaching is towards IE or a form of 'internationally compatible SAusE'[2], with particular emphasis on academic use, writing and study skills so that students coming out of the Australian system are not disadvantaged by comparison with students who study English in the United

Kingdom or the United States. At the same time, it is realised that, if the learning experience is to be total and authentic, then students in ELICOS courses in Australia must be able to make the most of the learning opportunities available in an English speaking country by interacting with members of the community outside the courses, even if they only come to Australia for limited periods of time. Thus SAusE is a necessary though not sole component in ELICOS courses.

It is often difficult in the context of ELICOS programmes to satisfy all these needs in a limited period of time. A problem is also presented by the fact that at least some students are likely to have instrumental rather than integrative motivation. The attitudes of such learners to AusE may not be very positive. An extensive survey of student attitudes carried out by Shaw (1981) in three Asian countries (Singapore, India and Thailand) indicated that Australian English rated extremely low in preferences, far below British and American English when students were asked to complete the sentence "I think that we should learn to speak English (1) like the British, (2) like the Americans (3) like the Australians and (4) in our way. The results of this survey would suggest that some students may come to Australia with negative attitudes towards SAusE while having highly positive attitudes towards English in general.

Teachers and planners in ELICOS courses are thus faced with the task of balancing somewhat conflicting requirements. If students learn best from authentic materials and if they are to make the most of being immersed in an English-speaking environment, then they have to accommodate to SAusE and have to be able to participate in conversations on topics of interest to Australians. At the same time, many may not wish to become 'too Australian' in their speech by the time they leave the country. Further, they need to be able to recognise specifically Australian items and usages so that they can substitute these with GSE items when communicating with non-Australian speakers of GSE after their departure.

In the author's view course components which are based on a policy of deliberate exploration of the role of SAusE can go a long way towards reconciling seemingly conflicting aims. Such course components could consist of information on both the similarities and differences between SAusE, SAmE and SBE and impart to the students an understanding of the role SAusE can play in the process of acquiring International English. For this task, teachers in ELICOS courses need access to sound and authentic Australian materials specially designed for the needs of ELICOS students and to materials which help them characterise the main norm-providing standard varieties of English.

The areas for future research that seem to emerge from examining the role of SAusE in ELICOS programmes are as follows: student attitudes toward SAusE, student conceptions of SAusE, discourse patterns used in speech and writing by SAusE speakers, the identification of Australianisms that may be

useful, necessary and valuable for ELICOS students. If these areas are adequately explored and if the information gained from them is ploughed into ELICOS courses, then it can be hoped that Australia will be recognized internationally as one of the norm-providing centres of English instruction - a position where Kachru (1986) had tentatively classified it.

The role of SAusE in TESL programmes for adult and child immigrants is somewhat more straightforward and presents fewer conflicts. SAusE is the only model needed in these programmes. As the learners are stayers and not sojourners, they are likely to have an integrative motivation towards communicating in English in Australia. The promotion of competence in SAusE in all Australians is a national goal explicitly stated in national language policies. Therefore, teachers of ESL do not need to devote course time to comparisons of SAusE and other standard varieties. While it is, of course, of importance for immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds to communicate not only with speakers of SAusE, but also with newly arrived British immigrants and speakers of other varieties of English, the primary aim of courses must remain communication with SAusE speakers as British and American speakers themselves are likely to make adjustments towards this norm. In these courses there is much more room for specifically Australian vocabulary, turns of phrase and idiomatic expression than there is in ELICOS courses, but it is important also in this context that students are made aware of differences between expressions that are known and used by SAusE speakers and those that are not. There are also a number of other sociolinguistically interesting and difficult questions for educators to solve, eg how to cater for the needs of individual students or groups of students in adjusting to particular types of speakers of AusE with whom they wish or with whom they are likely to have daily communication and how to make allowances for communicative patterns in English which may have developed within particular large ethnic communities themselves.

As ESL programmes have a much longer history than ELICOS programmes, their research requirements have been reviewed and discussed by numerous writers in a variety of professional journals. Here attention may be called to just one major area in which there is a need for much further information, and that is, once again, discourse patterns used by speakers of SAusE.

The task of teaching SAusE to speakers of Aboriginal English is a specialisation which is distinct from the teachers' tasks in both of the previously mentioned types of programmes. It differs from TESL in some very important respects which have been pointed out by the present author elsewhere (Kaldor 1980). Here perhaps only some of the most significant points of difference need to be mentioned. In contrast to ESL learners who are often hesitant speakers of interlanguages, speakers of Aboriginal English are usually fluent speakers of

their dialect which consists of features shared with SAusE and features which are not shared (the non-standard features). The speaker of the non-standard dialect *does not consider his/her dialect to be a different language*. Learning English for a speaker of Aboriginal English is not as meaningful an activity as it would appear to be to a learner who comes from a non-English speaking background. A further problem is that in the past Aboriginal English used to be regarded as a stigmatised form of speech, one that needed to be eradicated and replaced by SAusE. In recent years in Australia, as elsewhere, non-standard dialects are increasingly seen as valid linguistic systems which have important functions in their speech communities. They are no longer considered to be *deficient* but simply *different* from the standard dialect. Teaching Standard English, at least for teachers who are familiar with the new trends, no longer involves *replacement* but the *addition* of a second dialect.

Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect (TSESD) is a task which requires a great deal of tact and very sophisticated language educational skills on the part of the teacher. He/she has to use the most effective approaches so that Aboriginal children are not denied access to the opportunities that the knowledge of SAusE provides for its speakers in Australian society, while at the same time ensuring that no child is made to feel embarrassed about his/her own speech variety. The teacher has to be well aware of the features of Aboriginal English, of elements that Aboriginal English shares with SAusE and elements exclusive to Aboriginal English, so that common elements may be built upon and differences may be pointed out. This way the child may become bidialectal, learning SAusE while retaining also his/her dialect that still has important functions within Aboriginal communities. Very often, especially in remote areas, the teacher may be the sole provider of SAusE model speech.

TSESD has many research needs, especially concerning teaching methodology. While a start has been made in this field, much more needs to be done to help the teacher of children who come to school speaking Aboriginal English.

There are a number of implications also for teacher education of the differences in the role of SAusE in the different types of programmes we have just outlined. While it is essential to ensure that teachers in all three types of programmes are knowledgeable on the subject of SAusE, those involved in ELICOS and TSESD programmes have further specialised needs. The ELICOS teacher needs to have a sound knowledge of the distinctive features of each of the norm-providing standard Englishes and of the relationship between SAusE and IE. He/she must be well aware of what speech patterns and colloquialisms have currency *only* in Australia and what patterns and colloquialisms are shared with AmE or BE or both. The teacher of speakers of Aboriginal English, on the other hand, needs to have grounding in TSESD methodology and in the structure and features of Aboriginal English and has to be able to make comparisons between that dialect and SAusE.

Summing up, this paper has explored the importance of Standard Australian English in both domestic and international English language education programmes undertaken by Australian educators. It has been argued that its role differs in different types of programmes and that the recognition of such differences is important for identifying future research areas and in planning teacher educations courses.

Notes

1 The author is indebted to Ian Malcolm, Toby Metcalfe, Catherine McLoughlin, Marion Myhill and Mark Newbrook for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2 This term was suggested by Ian Malcolm

Abbreviations used in this paper:

AusE = Australian English
AmE = American English
BE = British English
ELICOS = English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ESL = English as a second language
GSE = General Standard English
IE = International English
SAmE = Standard American English
SAusE = Standard Australian English
SBE = Standard British English
TSESD = Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect

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The Philippine Variety of English and the Problem of Standardization

Andrew Gonzalez

1. Introduction

Very early in the period of American colonization of the Philippine Islands, native speakers of American English noticed that even with native speakers (the so-called Thomasites) as models in the primary school classrooms of the archipelago, locals (even bright ones) could never quite master American English pronunciation.

The team that accomplished the first major evaluation of the Philippine educational system after twenty-seven years of colonization and American education, the Monroe Survey Commission, described the speech of the pupils as 'bird-like' (see Monroe, 1925). Less charitable designations were 'Bamboo English' or 'Carabao English'; one snobbish Englishwoman whom I heard in the early 1960's described it as 'pidgin'.

The Monroe Survey Commission called attention to the fact that Filipinos were at least two years behind their American counterparts in language skills, not realizing that if this evaluation were true (it was, based on the nation-wide tests administered), they should have been proud rather than regretful considering the huge gap between the language skills of a native speaker and a second-language learner.

Beginning in the 1930's, felicitously documented by Raqueño's masteral thesis and doctoral dissertation (1940 and 1950), the grammatical and mechanical errors of Filipino students at all levels of schooling in all parts of the Philippines have been documented to the point of ennui. This genre of scholarship, preceding TESOL's error counts in the late 1950's, has continued practically unabated in the Philippines (see Gonzalez 1986 for a review of the literature on this point).

When a more tolerant spirit of the times prevailed and when prescriptive grammar gave way to descriptive grammar and the new Englishes gained legitimacy, Gonzalez (in a Regional Language Centre seminar-workshop in 1981) asked in a paper, 'When does an error become a feature of the new variety of English?' without really coming up with a categorical answer but settling for some general guidelines for acceptance. Ultimately, the need for standards, especially for teaching and for publishing, had to be recognized.

In 1969, Llamzon published a book and claimed that de facto from the speech of educated Filipinos, Filipino English had become standardized and forthwith described it in his volume; he has since withdrawn the claim of standardization, although one of his masteral students (Martinez 1975) has compiled a manual of pronunciation now in use at the Polytechnique University of the Philippines which purports to teach 'Standard Filipino English' pronunciation.

Other descriptions of the Philippines variety of English, called Philippine English, have been completed by Alberca (1978), Gonzalez and Alberca (1978), Casambre (1985) and Marasigan (1981), which she published as a RELC study; in 1986, a doctoral dissertation at RELC and National University of Singapore was completed by Hermosa and described Filipino English as a 'study in contextualization'.

More recently, through his own study of phonology (Gonzalez 1984) Gonzalez and two of his students (Romero 1988) and (Jambalos 1989), have come up with empirical studies on features of English as spoken and written in the Philippines 'across generations' (before the second World War and after) and have come up with a list of what they call 'the perduring features of Philippine English', that is, features of spoken and written English that are found across all generations of Filipinos, from those who were taught during the first two decades of American colonial government by native speakers to the present. There is thus empirical basis now for declaring these as in effect the norm more than 'deviations'.

A stratified purposive sampling of subjects (30) of different age ranges (belonging to five different 'generations' of English language instruction in the public schools) was asked to read a passage by Gonzalez and to do a series of translation tasks based on picture stimuli by Jambalos. Romero asked groups from a similar division according to generations to write compositions. The studies sought to elicit problem sounds and difficult (for Filipinos) morphological/grammatical features. For the phonology study, a cut-off percentage of sixty percent was used as the criterion for attainment of a feature where the feature had at least five tokens; for the grammar study, a cut-off percentage of seventy-five percent was used as the criterion for attainment of a feature where the item had at least four tokens. If a particular generation (composed of thirty subjects usually fifteen males and fifteen females) was able to score the desired average, it was considered as having attained the feature. It is in this sense that one speaks of one or more generations having attained a specific feature or not having attained a specific feature. Features not attained are features for which no generation attained the established cut-off percentage of correct responses. These are then described as 'perduring features' of Philippine English. For the free compositions, recurring features found among writers of all generations were considered 'perduring' features of written Philippine English.

2. Critical analysis of features of Philippine English

2.1 A Putative Standard for Spoken Philippine English

A group of Philippine Normal College graduate students (Aquino et al. 1972) administered a listening test to a sample of Filipinos to get their reactions on 'the most intelligible variety of English' for them; based on rather rigorous methods, what emerged as 'intelligible' was a variety of English where the phonemic distinctions of English were maintained even if an 'authentic' American Standard was not attained.

It is interesting to note, however, that based on the Gonzalez study of spoken English across generations (1984), few Filipinos of any generation make certain phonemic distinctions; because of this, Gonzalez has proposed that these 'perduring features' be considered now permanent features (1984: 21):

Vowels

Philippine Substitute		Standard American English
a	for	ae
o (not fully rounded; duratively, short)	for	o (fully rounded, for practical purposes a diphthong ow)

Consonants

b	for	v
t		
d		o
s		z
s		z
flap r		retroflex r

Likewise, stress patterns of many polysyllabic words in the Philippine variety of English do not follow the sound patterns of English stress as described for example in Chomsky and Halle (1968) and through constant use have gained not only frequency but acceptability. Nor is American sentence intonation really mastered by Filipinos other than for critical points: rising intonation to distinguish yes-no questions from simple statements and WH-questions (falling intonation).

As the earlier PNC study mentioned, a phenomenon first observed by the UCLA linguists occurred among the PNC subjects in the 1972 study; they could hear phonemic distinctions without being able to orally produce them themselves! For purposes of standardization, therefore, although the targeted productive distinction may not be attained by all, the distinction is still held to be the ideal and hence should still be included as the standard.

In aspects other than phonology, that is to say, features of morphology and grammar, Alberca (1978) and Gonzalez and Alberca (1978) have described features of written English of the mass media, and recently, Jambalos (1989), under the guidance of Gonzalez, using a production test based on picture stimuli calling for a translation task into English from Filipino, has described features of spoken English. From these studies, 'perduring' features of the Philippine variety of English have been listed. However, since the acceptability of these features has not yet been established empirically (unlike the pronunciation features), at this stage, we cannot make the claim that these features are now 'standard features'. But if any features have the proximate potential to eventually become standardized, these would be the first ones (Jambalos 1990, see section 5.11.3).

These 'perduring' features (see the eight items listed below) and mastery by only one or two generations of other features (such as use of the zero article, use of DID + base form of the verb, use of the base form of the verb with DO/DOES in WH-questions, use of more for comparatives, subject-verb agreement; see Jambalos 1989 section 5.1.1.2) lead me to predict a restructuring of grammar along the following lines:

A tense aspect system of the verb which most likely is a product of interference from the Philippine verb system (which is purely aspectual, tense being marked elsewhere), resulting in an over-use of the simple past tense, the use of the present perfect for the simple past, use of the simple past for the past perfect tense, lack of tense consistency in discourse, non-use of the subjunctive, over-use of the past form of the modals when the present forms would be used in Standard English.

An article system that again is most likely a product of interference from the Philippine determiner system (which is tied up with case marking in Philippine languages and with definite marking) where use of definite/indefinite and zero article is rather different from Standard American English usage:

1. Non-use of the as a definite indicator

   I like wine from France

   in answer to Which of the wines here do you prefer?

2. Non-use of the in

   Majority of the students favored the bill.

3. Use of the present perfect tense to indicate past definite action

   I have visited Baguio last year.

4. Use of the present progressive tense to indicate action begun in the past and continuing to the present

   I am standing here now for two hours

5. Use of the simple past tense to denote two past actions, one before the other

   I already ate dinner when you arrived.

6. No tense consistency

   He said that he is making his homework.

7. No contrast between present progressive and simple present tense

   He is reading the newspaper now. He is reading the newspaper everyday.

8. Non-native use of verb + preposition combination

   Turn out the light.

   He sounded me off about this.

(In the past, I have cited examples of these peculiarly Philippine uses as individual items; I now suspect, though without as yet systematic and rigorous evidence, that more than failure to learn individual rules of article and verb usage, second-language learners in situations like those of the Philippines are using a locally derived subsystem (a product of language mixture from the local system coupled with the English system) which manifests quite different rules albeit there are convergences in surface realizations in certain cases, in which case, the native speaker considers these as 'correct', the others as 'anomalous' or 'incorrect').

Lexical items and Filipinisms (local collocations) are more easy to detect and are found everywhere wherever a language is spoken in a new context; they are usually words from the local languages referring to local realia, or calques from the local languages, or fossilized mixtures (especially in two-word verbs, eg cope up with instead of keep up with, a confusion of keep up and keep with; onion-skinned instead of thin-skinned because of a loan translation for a similar metaphor in the local languages.)

2.2 Standards for Written Philippine English

Although the status and role of English in Philippine society as a whole is rapidly changing at present and is under question in many domains, in one domain, it maintains its supremacy, that is, the print media (see Gonzalez in press, Lapira 1988).

The quality of copy-editing of Philippine newspapers and periodicals before the War, judged by American standards, was very high because native speakers usually functioned as copy-editors of daily newspapers and weekly magazines and periodicals. The post-War period saw the replacement of these native speakers by Filipinos trained in Standard American English by native speakers, with usually some experience of study abroad in a native language situation. The present generation, however, especially during the period of Martial Law (when reputable senior journalists stopped writing and were suddenly replaced by an inexperienced group; see Babst-Vokey 1988) shows a standard of written English which is becoming more and more peculiarly Filipino although style-sheets and standards of usage are still based on Standard American English (see for example Jose Luna Castor's 1966 handbook, recently reprinted by the Asian Institute of Journalism).

As Gonzalez (1985) and earlier Alberca (1978) has described the written variety of Philippine English, in addition to localisms in lexicon (individual words referring to Philippine reality and Filipinisms or calques as well as local combinations of two-word verbs with local meanings) and some peculiarities of grammar (agreement, tense-aspect, article usage, tense consistency) and syntax (some peculiarities of word order), there are likewise peculiarities of writing

style or rhetoric which Gonzalez (1982) has called 'stylistic underdifferentiation' (a more or less uniform classroom composition style which in its best examples is reminiscent of Victorian prose of the nineteenth century) which does not 'shift gears' to take care of other situations of informality. When it does, there is danger of uncalled-for stylistic shifts (documented by Gonzalez, in press) with sometimes humorous effects. The new feature, which is becoming more and more common, consists of long passages of Filipino quoted in an otherwise English article to cite someone's statement; in more informal varieties, a conscious mode of code-switching is used to achieve informal effects (see Bautista forthcoming for the latest review on code-switching and its uses).

Again, the written variety of Philippine English, both as to peculiar features of lexicon, morphology, grammar and syntax, and style (as well as style shifts) is presently in flux. At the actual everyday level, one has only to go through an ordinary daily English paper to see these features in evidence. However, they have not yet been legitimized, since if one calls attention to certain features of grammar, they would undoubtedly be corrected and considered 'mistakes' based on accepted standards dictated by Style Manuals. Most Filipinos, because second-language learners who learn English only in schools, unless they are students of literature and language, are seldom sensitive to nuances of language and hence would be less sensitive to stylistic shifts and their comical or sometimes embarrassing effects unless one patiently explains these to them. In grammar and usage, therefore, the declared standard does exist, at least in intention if not in execution, based on style manuals modeled on those of the United States, which are still in use.

In speaking standards, therefore, in a second-language situation such as obtains in the Philippines, one must make the following distinctions:

the prescribed standard versus the actual variety used in the society

the perceived standard (especially in pronunciation) which may be recognized when it occurs versus the actual local variety in use (even by the prescriber himself/herself)

When one is dealing with a language teaching situation (including the standard to be used in the classroom as well as in the teaching materials being used), one is dealing with the prescribed standard (even if this is not actually attained even by the teacher himself/herself); not only in pronunciation but also in actual grammatical usage can one find instances where a teacher knows the rule, recognizes 'errors' when they occur if these are committed by students, but she herself is unaware that she is committing the same 'mistakes'.

It is at the prescribed, conscious, planned use of language where a choice now has to be made, in the light of the legitimation of the New Englishes, whether one will continue to use an international variety or a local variety.

The standard of Philippine English in the process of evolution is one based on quality and length of education; for this purpose, I have suggested the term edulect, a term which Bautista (1982) used in the literature for the first time in her study of yaya-English (the English of care-givers in the Philippines).

In Philippine written English, based on Romero's (1988) study of compositions across generations, what I call 'perduring features' and what she calls 'persistent errors' are (see Romero 1988: 550-9):

spellings based on pronunciation (eg bisnes instead of business, propesyon instead of profession

past tense/redundancy (eg sprang for sprung/did carried)

wrong form/word choice (eg enrollies for enrollees; anable for enable; the education aspects of the student can be considered satisfactory)

number control (agreement) (eg The situation in the Philippines tend)

wrong prepositional use (eg I am selective of my friends)

nonuse of a (eg _Majority of people are for this.)

misuse of the (eg From the kindergarten to secondary school...; Almost all of our subjects are taught in English (Filipino) except the Science, Math and English subjects.)

3. Implications

For teaching purposes, what are the implications of the above findings?

There is an acceptable variety of spoken English; this spoken variety stresses the necessity of maintaining phonemic distinctions with regard to the vocalic system and with regard to certain distinctions in the consonantal system, although it is tolerant of nondistinctions made with regard to a/ae, u/U. But it will insist on distinctions between i and I, e and I, o and ʌ as well as p/f; it is less insistent on th/dh, v/B, s/z, s/z, and on the flapped instead of the retroflex r.

This standard is tolerant of peculiar modes of stress and seems to pay little attention to intonation since intonation carries little functional load anyway for changes of basic linguistic meaning though not of mood or paralinguistic meaning.

The ideal is aimed for, the real tolerated.

Under this rubric, it would be safe to say that for school use, the standard to be taught should still make room for necessary phonemic distinctions.

For grammar and morphology as well as lexicon, both for the spoken and written variety, there is still widespread agreement that correct grammar must be taught and practiced with regard to subject-verb agreement, tense, tense consistency, article usage, though more often than not the rule is observed more in the breach than in the observance.

On matters of the lexicon and Filipinisms and stylistic shifts, as well as stylistic underdifferentiation, perhaps because most Filipinos are not really conscious of these to begin with, there is less sensitivity and therefore more tolerance in the violation. I doubt if most Filipino teachers of English are sensitive to these matters. These will be eventually accepted or are already accepted though perhaps unknowingly.

For the syllabus-designer and curriculum-maker in the Philippines, this poses a problem. In actual practice, most Filipinos have turned to Quirk and Greenbaum's reference grammar, A Contemporary Grammar of English, as their guide for grammar; for pronunciation, they continue to rely on American pronunciation manuals with some selectivity on what to teach.

There is NO reference grammar of Philippine English although an attempt has been planned to compile a list of Filipinisms (Llamzon 1969); there is no dictionary of Philippine calques or an inventory of dialectal Philippine verb-prepositional combinations.

When one asks a Filipino teacher of English about what standard to use, in spite of the linguistic and sociolinguistic realities described, invariably he or she still turns to the American manuals.

I suppose this is one way of solving a practical problem.

In the meantime, one can perhaps say with some measure of accuracy that Philippine English is in a state of flux and is in a process of standardization, with the consensus clear only on which variety is the most acceptable for the spoken phase and with a conservative stance taken on all other features of English, whether spoken or written.

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MODELS FOR WRITTEN ENGLISH IN MALAYSIA

Irene F. H. Wong

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

'Standard English' has long been the unquestioned choice of a model for all language instruction, whether in native-speaker or nonnative-speaker countries. It is defined by Strevens (1983: 88) as "a particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English; which may be spoken with an unrestricted choice of accent". However, in the last decade or two, fanned by the recent interest in new varieties of English, especially those of the Third World, there have been increasing claims that it is best in such ESL countries to set up the local variety of English as the target model for those learning the language.

This paper focuses on the situation of Malaysia, and examines whether, in the light of new insight into the 'new Englishes', the local variety of English, Malaysian English, can be a viable educational target for teaching English in the country. In order not to confuse between standards for speech and those for writing, this paper confines itself to written English, to the exclusion of features of pronunciation and accent, because the answers to questions of models are not necessarily similar for both speech and writing.

Of course, it would be ideal to have more than one target for language instruction in Malaysia. A variety of standards could then be taught, each appropriate to its own register; or, at the least, two models may be necessary, standard English for international use, and Malaysian English for intranational use. But for a country like Malaysia at the moment, this is not feasible, and English teaching must be content with the choice of only one educational target, although within the country several registers of use will be found to exist.

The claim has been made that, English being only the second language of the country, it is only a small elite group who will need to use English for international purposes. Hence, setting standard English as the model will mean great wastage in terms of time and resources. The majority of Malaysians will need English only for intranational use, for which purpose the local variety of English would suffice.

However, on the other hand, there are opposing claims, such as Quirk's (1989: 22-3) that locals are "learning English not just to speak with their own country folk but to link themselves with the wider English-using community throughout the world. It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least rewarding careers."
Many such views which have been expressed for either an exonormative or an endonormative standard tend to be based mainly on pedagogical, or even political criteria rather than linguistic ones. This paper attempts to contribute to the discussion by examining the question chiefly from a linguistic standpoint.

BACKGROUND

Rise of 'new' varieties of English

English is undeniably a world-wide language today. Millions of people all over the world use it as either their mother tongue, their second language, or a foreign language. This global use of the language has given rise to diverse varieties of English, not only native-speaker varieties like British English, American English, Canadian English, and Australian English, but also, more recently, 'new' varieties such as Indian English, Nigerian English, Malaysian English, and Singapore English. These latter varieties are 'new' in the sense that they have only relatively recently begun to gain recognition and acceptance as legitimate independent national varieties of English in their own right, rather than as deviant versions of some variety of native-speaker English.
The 'campaign' for their recognition and acceptance may be said to have begun in the later part of the 1970s, fueled greatly by publications by linguists such as Braj Kachru. This campaign quickly attracted many disciples, as evidenced in the spate of articles and even books on 'new' Englishes such as Indian English, Nigerian English, Lankan English, Singapore English, Filipino English, and Malaysian English. An inherent part of this campaign was a call for acceptance of the localized norms and standards of these new varieties.

The controversy

This has led to the existence of two camps with opposing views. On the one hand, there are purists, who find that the situation of the 'new' Englishes is getting out of hand and who fear a deterioration in the use of English (see, for example, Prator 1968). On the other hand there are those like Kachru, who feel that a pragmatic approach is warranted and that a "monomodel" approach for English in the world context is neither applicable nor realistic (see Kachru 1982 and 1985).

In reality this 'controversy' may be merely a result of different emphases. The pragmatists tend to focus on what is, while the purists' concern is pedagogical standards. Thus the latter tend to be prescriptivists, whose primary concern is what should be. The problem, however, is that the distinction between these two types of interests is frequently blurred, with the result that **what is** is too often taken to be **what should be**, and thus the standard for all language use within that particular country. Moreover, many descriptions of the 'new' Englishes are of the registers meant for informal use on the intranational scene, but this has led to some taking the stand that these same descriptions are to be set as targets for the teaching of the language within each country.

Although purists realise that the interest in these varieties has been based on idealistic, humanitarian, democratic and highly reputable reasons (Quirk 1989: 20), they tend to feel that it has gone too far. As the Kingman report (quoted by Quirk 1989: 20) sees it, the result was "grossly undervaluing the baby of Standard English while overvaluing the undoubtedly important bathwater of regional, social and ethnic varieties: giving the impression that any kind of English was as good as any other, and that in denying this, nothing less was at stake than 'personal liberty' itself". As Quirk (1989: 15) puts it, "... the interest in varieties of English has got out of hand and has started blinding both teachers and taught to the central linguistic structure from which the varieties might be seen as varying".

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE 'NEW' ENGLISHES

Nativization

Before any 'new' variety of English can lay claim to the right to set its own standards, several criteria should be met. Firstly, English should be used as the second language of its speakers. Kachru (1985) calls such second-language varieties 'institutionalized' varieties, to distinguish them from 'performance' varieties, i.e. those used essentially as foreign languages. Of these institutionalized varieties he has this to say (p. 211):

> The institutionalized second-language varieties have a long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts; they have a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems. The result of such uses is that such varieties have developed nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined sublanguages (registers), and are used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres.

This statement of Kachru's mentions the essential features which any variety of English should possess before serious claims can be made for it setting its own standards for use. These features can be summarized thus:

1. long history of acculturation in new cultural and geographical contexts;

2. large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems;

3. nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined registers;

4. use as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres.

All these have to do with the nativization of the variety of English. Thus, in each case, English was first 'transplanted' into a new context, after which it became nativized and took on local flavour, "the result of the new ecology in which a non-native variety of English functions" (Kachru 1982: 7). Of the nativization process Kachru (1985: 213) says:

> Nativization must be seen as the result of those productive linguistic innovations which are determined by the localized functions of a second-language variety, the 'culture of conversation' and communicative strategies in new situations, and the 'transfer' from local languages.

'Deviations' versus 'mistakes'

Based upon the above so far, there are few problems with accepting the claims of the 'new' Englishes. However, Kachru (1985: 213) goes on to add: "There may also be other reasons for such innovations - for example, acquisitional limitations, inadequate teaching, and the lack of a consistent model for practice". This begins to be a bit disquieting, especially since Kachru makes no attempt to discuss these 'other reasons' and how they may affect his arguments about the nativization process. He chooses rather to concentrate on 'authentic' linguistic innovations, which he calls 'deviations', as distinguished from 'mistakes', or imperfectly learnt forms of English (1982: 45):

> A 'mistake' may be unacceptable by a native speaker since it does not belong to the linguistic 'norm' of the English language; it cannot be justified with reference to the sociocultural context of a non-native variety; and it is not the result of the productive processes used in an institutionalized non-native variety of Englishes. On the other hand, a

'deviation' has the following characteristics: it is different from the norm in the sense that it is the result of the new 'un-English' linguistic and cultural setting in which the English language is used; it is the result of a productive process which marks the typical variety-specific features; and it is systematic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic. There is thus an explanation for each action within the context of situation. It can be shown that a large number of deviations 'deviate' only with reference to an idealized norm.

What Kachru calls 'deviations' would be fully acceptable as linguistic innovations, but, as Quirk points out in his abstract (1989: 14), "viewing learners' errors as evidence for the emergence of new varieties of the English language is dangerously mistaken particularly where it leads to the abandonment of Standard English as a model for learners".

One major problem to address, then, is the question of whether the local variety is just the result of the increasing failure of the education system. There is a great danger that naive teachers may too zealously follow advice like "Language behaviour which at first sight appears to be flawed may in fact be a manifestation of a new - though as yet unrecognised - variety of English" (Coleman 1987: 13). Through this, students are liberally permitted to think their 'new variety' of English is acceptable.

Gonzalez (1983: 169) has pointed out for Philippine English that "some of the features of Philippine English have arisen because in the past the rules of certain subsystems of English have never been taught at all or have never been properly taught". Hence their origin as mistakes and not deviations.

Much therefore hinges on how each 'new' variety of English differs from Standard English. If it turns out that in most cases the differences are due to errors rather than true creativity, then there is no way that that variety can gain acceptance among educationists and the media as the standard for that country. Our interest in this paper is to see how Malaysian English matches up as far as Kachru's essential features of the 'new' Englishes are concerned.

MALAYSIAN ENGLISH

Firstly, what is Malaysian English? Beginning with Kachru's list of features of what would qualify a variety of English to be considered a 'new' variety in its own right, we might note that the first three conditions are met. English has had a long history of acculturation in its new cultural and geographical environment, it has a large range of functions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems, and it has marked nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined registers.

However, one would need to ask just which style types and functionally determined registers are used in the various functions of the language. On

educational, administrative, and legal levels (i.e. all official levels), it is not what is known as Malaysian English, in other words the 'new' variety of English, but good old standard English. This is that variety of the language which is codified in grammars and sanctioned for use as a model for all official and formal use.

A colloquial variety

Firstly, "Malaysian English" is mainly a **colloquial** variety of English, although attempts have been made to describe the English of Malaysia at three levels - the acrolectal, the mesolectal, and the basilectal. However, as the acrolectal level attempts to model itself on standard English, except in accent, there are few grounds for considering it representative of the new variety of English known as Malaysian English. It is the mesolectal level which is the most representative, and this is primarily a colloquial register, and not meant for use at formal and official functions.
Hence, although English has had a long history of acculturation in Malaysia, resulting in the formation of a localized variety of English known as Malaysian English, this localized variety of the language does not have a large range of fuctions in the local educational, administrative, and legal systems, and it does not have marked nativized discourse and style types and functionally determined registers.

Features of learners' interlanguage

Secondly, many features of Malaysian English bear a striking resemblance to ESL learners' interlanguage. Wong 1983 gives examples of many simplification features to be found in Malaysian English, such as over-generalization, omission, reduction, substitution, and restructuring. She concludes (1983: 147-8) thus:

> ... the simplification features discussed ... are in fact not unique to colloquial Malaysian English alone. Neither are many of the examples presented. That this is so is not at all surprising, for learner strategies are quite similar, whether in first, second or foreign language learning. Therefore these same simplification strategies are likely to be seen in the other varieties of English too, with the end products being highly similar in many cases.... A fitting conclusion to this paper may thus be the fact that the non-native varieties of English in general, and colloquial Malaysian English in particular, may not be as unique as they may at first appear to be. While there may undoubtedly be details which differ from one variety of English to the next, whether native speaker or non-native speaker, the basic processes are, in the main, very similar.

The point has often been made that language learners can be, and frequently are, very creative, and speakers of Malaysian English are no exception. It is true that many overcome their inadequacies in the language by creating quite novel expressions. However, while the linguist delights in studying such innovations, the educationist must take a different stand. For any linguistic innovation to receive the stamp of approval from educational authorities, it must originate from those fully proficient in the language, not from learners' compensatory communicative strategies. In Malaysia, there aren't sufficient numbers of such people fully proficient in the language to create authentic Malaysian innovations; or, if there are, they are content to use standard international English. This means that no prestigious variety for intranational use has yet been established and accepted. As such, any variety of English which contains so many features of learner interlanguage cannot and should not be the model for language learning.

Lack of creative writing

Thirdly, Kachru's final criterion is an important one. For features of a localized variety of English to gain acceptance and official sanction, it must be used as a linguistic vehicle for creative writing in various genres. Indian English, or African English, or even Singapore English would meet this criterion much better than Malaysian English. While there is a tradition of creative writing in English in Malaysia, few writers have taken it upon themselves to experiment with forging a variety of English to express its new identity.

Wong (1986: 99) has this to say of writers' seeming reluctance to use Malaysian English in their creative works before the 1970s:

> The problem with Malaysian English, however, was that it was particularly a colloquial variety of English, reserved for use in informal domains among familiars. It was thus not considered a suitable vehicle for any 'serious' use of language. Writers therefore had to be very judicious about using this variety of the language in their works, since most Malaysians were not willing to even acknowledge the existence of any variety of English in the country which was distinct from standard British English.

And so in the beginning what efforts there were to use Malaysian English in creative works can be described as half-hearted, tentative, and rather hesitant ones. There were a few bolder writers, but even here most tended to limit the use of Malaysian English to dialogue portions of their works. Efforts there have been, but we have to conclude nevertheless that there does

not exist a sufficiently large body of literature in English in Malaysia which has explored and exploited how English has adapted to its new environment. Wong's conclusion is (1986: 106):

> ... Malaysian English is mainly a functional variety of the language, and it functions very effectively within its own sphere of use, but it is seldom used in the expressive domain, which in the main is the concern of literature. Hence while Malaysian English may be effectively incorporated into a body of creative writing, it can seldom sustain that writing entirely on its own, especially if the author's theme and treatment are more within the expressive domain of use.

Colloquial Malaysian English could not meet the needs of creative writers. Ee Tiang Hong, one of the earlier Malaysian poets, in a paper entitled "Language and Imagery in Malayan Poetry" delivered at the Malayan Writers' Conference held in 1962 (cited in Wong 1986: 104), distinguished between pidgin (his term for what is now known as colloquial Malaysian English) and literary English: the former, while spoken fairly widely in the country, would not rise beyond a limited level while literary English had a wider scope. He noted that while this literary English came closest to what was generally known as Standard English, when it was employed by Malaysian poets, it broke down in its syntactical and connotational precision, and what resulted was a language which was English in origin, but with its own colour and vitality, and "as subtle as the Malayan sensibility comprehends".

As Subramaniam (1977: 90) puts it, the Malaysian writers wanted a language with "the characteristics of a language that would effectively touch the dormant energies and imagination of a people moulded by cultures in an environment different from that in which English had received its own development. Local texture could be infused into the language by colouring it with the myths, fables and legends of Malaysia".

But there has been little or no progress since 1977 in either creating or discovering such a variety of English in Malaysia. We are still waiting for such a language to emerge. Creative writing in English seems to be slowly but surely drying up in Malaysia, instead of developing and growing. Those who write creatively in English are now few and far between in Malaysia. Without this rich source of development, Malaysian English can remain no more than a 'pidgin', a colloquial, functional and informal variety of the language. Only when more creative writers strive towards producing a variety of English truly reflective of its new context can we even think of having any pedagogical standard for language instruction in the country other that standard English.

No authoritative backing

Perhaps most damaging of all, there is no authoritative backing and even official recognition for Malaysian English in Malaysia. Any interest there has been has been among linguists, but not among those whose view is important as far as pedagogical norms are concerned. As Quirk points out (1989: 22), "most of those with authority in education and the media in these countries tend to protest that the so-called national variety of English is an attempt to justify inability to acquire what they persist in seeing as 'real' English". Even in the very countries using a 'new' English, there is no agreement or determined policy within each country to put the local variety on the same footing as British English or American English.

Not only this, but Bloomfield (1985: 269) claims that even learners themselves will not usually settle for what they consider a lower educational target:

> Educated people as a whole still worry about 'correct' English. The people who run things in the world generally accept certain usages as 'correct' or even superior, and this situation is going to last for a good while, if not forever. To refuse to educate young people to use the variety of language used by the dominant figures in society will in practice be harmful to them.

No comprehensive descriptions

No doubt Malaysian English exists as a variety of English, different from standard English. For linguists, this 'new' English offers a rich mine for description and study. However, what linguistic descriptions are available are only rather sketchy. There is as yet no full description of this variety of English. A few theses there are, and some articles, on separate aspects of Malaysian English, but these can hardly form the basis if Malaysian English is to be considered a serious and viable candidate as the pedagogical norm for Malaysia.

CONCLUSION

From what has been said of Malaysian English, it should be evident that it does not meet the requirements needed before it can be seriously considered as an educational target for English teaching in the country, even for intranational use. If the day ever came when comprehensive descriptions of Malaysian English existed, when this variety of the language was sufficiently developed by creative writers and others proficient in the language, and when educational authorities came to accept it as the norm, then, and only then, can Malaysian English be a viable candidate for the pedagogical model in Malaysia. But that day is not in the foreseeable future. Hence the educational target must remain standard English.

This is not as drastic a decision as it may first appear. It does not mean putting a death sentence on the local variety of English, which will continue to flourish as long as there are English speakers in the country who use it for informal intranational purposes. The point is that Malaysian English will develop, and that speakers of English in Malaysia will imbibe it, without it being made the educational target for English instruction. On the other hand, this will not automatically be the case with standard English.

What Gonzalez says of Philippine English is equally true for Malaysian English (1983:168):

> I shall take the position that until Philippine English is really creolized (becomes the first language of a significant number of speakers who will use it as their mother tongue or one of their mother tongues), English is still a second language in the Philippines. I shall also take the position that in teaching any second language, one must accept a standard.... While accepting this standard, however, I shall make the added observation that no matter how hard the English teacher tries, a local variety will continue to develop. What the teacher and language planner must aim for is a target, all the while realizing that this target will probably never be reached except by a few apt individuals. After all, does not a foreign language teacher, or any language teacher for that matter, make attempts at the same target, all the while aware that very few of his students will really develop a perfect accent or reach a point of competence in the language equivalent to that of a native speaker?

In spite of the well-known fact that many learners will fall short of the educational target set, whatever it be, language planners and teachers should still be bound to set a target high enough so that it will not shortchange learners. The final word on this can come from Gonzalez (1983: 169-170):

Since the continuing reasons for the maintenance and propagation of English in the Philippines are both internal (a national lingua franca for domains of academic discourse, commercial and industrial transactions) and external (an international code for transactions with other nations), it behooves us to stress communicative efficiency, which would result in reinforcing convergence rather than divergence. Withal, the divergence is an inevitable process and the splits will go on, with only communication imperatives slowing down the process of language change and evolution.

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THE STATUS OF ENGLISH AND THE QUESTION OF 'STANDARD' IN SINGAPORE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Anne Pakir

1. Introduction

One of the most important lessons in my linguistic training was given by a professor of historical-comparative linguistics: even as we dissect language to understand its structure and its nature, we should always remember that it is not the language itself which is under scrutiny but the speakers of that particular language. It is worthwhile remembering this lesson from that historical linguist as we turn from studying exotic, usually declining, languages to a burgeoning world language such as English, which is estimated to have no fewer than 700 million speakers today[1].

This paper has two foci: first, what is the status and significance of English in a pluralistic and meritocratic society such as Singapore, in which four co-official languages are recognized (Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, English) but only one opens the gates to career advancement and economic achievement? What are the problems in considering the question of 'standard of English' within this context?[2]

The examination of status of the language cannot but be linked to the speakers of that language. Furthermore, the problem of 'good-usage' has to be unravelled into a consideration of who determines the setting of standards and who actually sets the standards in this English-knowing bilingual city Singapore. Thus, the discussion of status and standards of English among Singaporeans will be made within a sociolinguistic perspective of who speaks what English to whom, where, when, and why?

The sociolinguist teaching and researching the English language in Singapore is often in a double-bind: she sees the underlying interest in keeping to the standard in written English, which is fairly invariant the world over, but she is also a keen observer of the developing sub-varieties of spoken English in Singapore. Norm-setter, norm-maker and norm- breaker may all be found in one and the same Singaporean who has been schooled in

English from an early age but who speaks several other languages and interacts with speakers of these other languages, oftentimes in less than 'good English'.

2. The Status of English in Singapore

In a previous paper (Pakir 1989: 5-9) I dealt with the rising status of English in Singapore and the contemplated as well as non-intended consequences of such a development. Status is a relative concept, and can be increased or decreased by degrees. In Singapore, there is the perception that English has steadily risen in status over the past twenty-five years as a result of language policy and management.

The bilingual education policy in Singapore which began in the 1960s, has continued ever since but with modifications in successive stages which have given increasing emphasis to English. Today, English is the language of instruction in all schools (L1), with one of the other official languages (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) as the second school language (L2)[3]. In 1980, only 9 per cent of Chinese pupils in Primary 1 (the first year of primary education) spoke English as a home language; but in 1987, 19 per cent of Chinese pupils in Primary 1 had English as a home language, marking an almost 10 per cent increase in the number of Chinese six-year-olds who used English as a home language[4]. We note this significant increase in young speakers of the language but ask 'What English?'

In a country where 2.6 million inhabitants use about 30 languages, linguistic heterogeneity is inevitable. However, the official push to make the 77% Chinese, 15 % Malay, 6% Indian, and 2% 'Other' people less linguistically heterogeneous seems to be succeeding with the increasing use of English as the preferred language to foster social cohesion, as well as to ensure that Singapore keeps its leading edge in trade, tourism and industry[5].

Language policy, language use and language attitudes in this city-state have undoubtedly given rising status to English. It is a powerful and prestigious language in terms of educational and career opportunities; it plays an important role in banking and finance, law and administration, in the media, and in international communication. As tangible benefits accrue from using it as a working language, English has been appropriated by more and more users.

3. The Problem of Standard: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

The sociolinguistic reality vis-a-vis English is that in Singapore, there are increasing numbers of speakers for whom English is something between a 'first' and 'second' language because it functions in natural and spontaneous communication. Expressed in another way, it means that Singapore English has gained more and more users and it has gained more and more uses (Tay, 1982:51-60).

This section will present evidence of the functioning of English-knowing bilingualism in Singapore and dwell upon the development of English in Singapore at two distinct levels: International Standard[6] (internationally functional) and Singapore Variety (indigenously functional). It takes into account a model of the Singapore English speech continuum based on formality and proficiency clines. The model of expanding triangles of English use by Singaporeans is introduced to explain the behavior of users of English, especially in rapport and solidarity situations. The question of standard English is examined in terms of its uses and users along the clines of formality and proficiency.

3.1 English-knowing Bilingualism

'English-knowing bilingualism' a term first used by Kachru (1983:40-42), is particularly relevant to Singapore. 'Bilingualism' in Singapore has come to be uniquely defined as 'proficiency in English and one other official language'[7], and is invariably linked to educational policy in the country. In time to come, most bilinguals, if not all, in Singapore will be English-knowing bilinguals.

In fact, it has been claimed that while there are other countries which teach their children in more than one language, there is no other country that 'tries to educate an entire population so that everyone is literate in English, and at the same time, has a reasonable knowledge of his mother tongue'[8].

Owing to its dominance, English has extended into various social, cultural, educational and commercial contexts. English has also penetrated into other societal levels in Singapore, besides the upper and upper middle classes.

At the most general societal level, the functions served by English in these new developing contexts include the instrumental (medium of learning in

the education system), the regulative (regulation of conduct through the legal and administrative structure), the interpersonal (link language for international communication), and the imaginative or innovative (Kachru 1983:42).

The first three functions at societal level are being served by the sub-variety of English found at the higher end of the Singapore English speech clines. At the level of the individual these same functions call for the sub-variety of English found at the lower end of the English speech clines. The last function has been traditionally served by a high variety of English but because of the nature of bilingualism here (English-knowing), the imaginative or innovative function is also increasingly being served by a sub-variety of English not usually found in codified texts such as poems, short stories and plays by Singaporean writers.

3.2. The Singapore English Speech Continuum

Platt and Weber's 1980 descriptive attempt to categorize the kinds of English spoken here was based on the socio-economic status and educational background of the speakers[9]. In their top-down approach, they speak of a speech continuum which has at its highest end the acrolectal kind of speech and at its lowest end the basilectal -- with the upper and lower mesolectal levels in the middle. The claim is that the highest variety - the acrolect - is spoken by persons of the highest status, and that the 'lowest' variety, the basilect is spoken by members of the lowest status group. They believe, and they are not entirely wrong in their belief, that an individual's educational achievements are closely linked with his or her socio-economic success.

However, educational background cannot be seen in a one-to-one relationship with the position of a speaker on the socio-lectal scale. Two Singaporeans may have had the same number of years of secondary education in English and both have obtained their 'O' levels. Speaker A may be from a low status home background where only a Chinese dialect or a basilectal type of English is spoken and may be employed in a lower status service job, where only a lower lect English or a Chinese dialect is spoken to the clients or among the employees. On the other hand, speaker B may be from a higher status background and hold a position as a clerk in a firm where there is a need to use both written and spoken English frequently. One would expect Speaker B to be able to speak a higher English lect than Speaker A, although both had the same educational qualification, namely 'O' levels.

Although Platt and Weber did valuable work by presenting a theoretical framework for understanding the sub-varieties of Singapore English, the model -- based on socio-economic and educational status -- is problematic[10].

There is also the problem of what exactly is implied by the term 'basilectal': could this term be accurately used to include the English spoken by second language learners of English in Singapore and the pidginized varieties found in limited interactions? English spoken with limited proficiency by those who schooled in non-English medium schools and the pidginized form of English used by speakers of different languages communicating for limited purposes are different in nature from the English used by educated speakers and native English speakers.

A distinction should be made therefore between those who speak both the most formal and the most informal varieties and those who speak English with a limited proficiency in the language[11]. Such a distinction, however, will be difficult to maintain in the real world. It may be possible to collapse the two as being part of the low lectal range of individuals, an indigenized form of English (IFE)[12], usually identified as Singapore Colloquial English.

One can circumvent the problem of the acrolectal-basilectal distinction with another model -- that of the Singapore English speech continuum[13] and the hypothesis of expanding triangles of use (Pakir, 1990).

We begin with the assumption that 'Singapore English' is the kind of English developed by and belonging to Singaporeans[14].

As stated elsewhere (Pakir 1988:9), the Singapore English speech continuum is formed minimally along two dimensions. The first dimension along the cline of formality from Singapore Standard English (SSE) on the upper end to Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) on the lower end, represents what Gupta has described as a diglossic situation, following Ferguson's (1959) description of classic diglossia. Here, H is used for formal contexts -- in Parliament, in the courts, in administration and high finance, in public speeches, high powered meetings, and in classrooms. The L variety is reserved for informal situations - among friends, to semi-strangers, in service encounters, at work-places, at play. SSE here is an International Standard English (ISE) while SCE represents an Indigenised Form of English in Singapore (IFE).

The second dimension is along the cline of proficiency in English[15], a range which I have artificially broken up into five graded series: the highest being 'advanced' (inter alia, educated or standard variety), followed by 'adept', 'intermediate', 'basic' and 'rudimentary' or pidgin-like at the lowest level. These levels correlate with number of years of contact with English usually in an institutional setting, like the school.

The formality cline is also arbitrarily graded into five series (drawing from Joos' Five Clocks and Labov's stylistic variation in interviews): at the highest end, 'formal', followed by 'careful', 'consultative', 'casual' and 'intimate', at the lowest end.

The near-universal use of English in Singapore today, in addition to the other languages, has produced a population that knows English but with varying proficiency levels.

Proficiency, in turn, determines the largest movement in terms of expanding triangles[16] of English expression by English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore. Speakers of English low on the cline of proficiency remain pretty much at the lower end, and cannot range in their formality dimension. In other words, they form small triangulations, starting from the rudimentary end; whether the occasion is most formal or most intimate, the kind of English sub-variety remains essentially sub-standard. As proficiency increases, slightly bigger triangles are possible, with shifts made for corresponding formality levels, and including more varietal range (see diagram below).

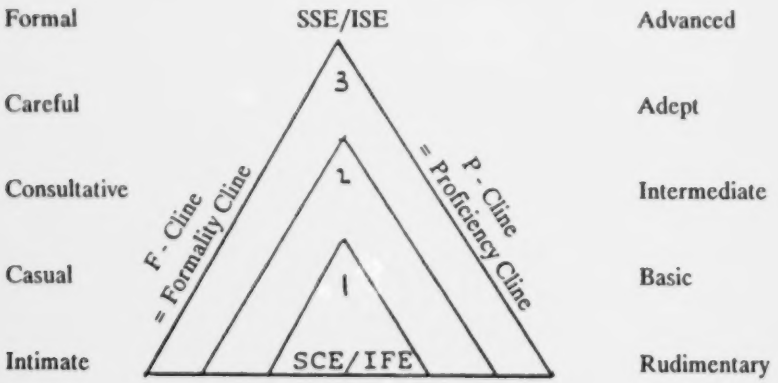

Diagram: Expanding Triangles of English Expression by English-Knowing bilinguals in Singapore

Highly educated users of English are found at the top ends of both speech clines. However, their movement along the clines is fluid and far-ranging as compared to others less proficient. They are capable of moving along the whole formality cline from top to bottom, and yet cross over to the proficiency cline, often remaining at the top end and occasionally stretching down to the intermediate level or even lower.

In the most intimate situations, they are capable of producing very 'basic' or 'rudimentary' expressions and may prefer to do so, for striking rapport and maintaining solidarity. In casual encounters, even with semi-strangers, they understand and use what can be termed a low lect (Platt and Weber's 'basilect'?) called Singapore Colloquial English (SCE), and known by the popular name, Singlish[17]. This low lect is that sub-variety which is indigenously functional (indigenous variety) and gives a sense of identity to the users as belonging to the Singapore speech community. It is commonly found in informal domains.

However, in formal settings, the English that is used is identifiably Standard English, almost no different from the variety used by educated speakers of English elsewhere. This high lect (Platt and Weber's 'acrolect'?) or Standard Singapore English (SSE) is also usually reserved for international communication and intelligibility, being an ISE.

3.3 Functions served by the Indigenous Variety

The sets of data presented here were obtained from English-speaking bilinguals. The data sets show that two distinct varieties - internationally functional and indigenously functional - are very much in evidence here.

Lect switching is common in the speech of highly educated users of English[18]. The data below[19], representative of the speech of National University of Singapore students, indicates obvious lectal variation:

[From a phonetics tutorial, while S is talking to her tutor]

S: Sir, what is the difference between Cardinal Vowel Three and Cardinal Vowel Four? I can't hear the difference.

(After the tutorial is over, S asks her friend)

S: * **Eh!** What did he say **ah**? Did you get the difference between CV Three and Four?

(Her friend nods)

S: * You understand **ah**? **Eh good!** Tell me **lah**[20]!

The functions served by Singapore IFE, marked by asterisks in the data, are both unifying as well as separatist. Its use unifies Singaporeans speaking informally, and separates them from non-Singaporeans or other Singaporeans for whom formal speech is required (less intimate, more distant, or in formal settings).

The separatist function can be seen in lect-switching. Such switching between the different lects is an important indicator of class membershipping: if I refuse, as an educated English speaker, to lect-switch to a lower variety, the colloquial variety of English, i.e. switch from a formal, educated variety to an informal low variety, when speaking in informal situations to participants (who may or may not belong to the same socio-economic background as I do), there is an indication of separateness that I seem to want to maintain.

There is also the issue of what happens to those who only have small triangles of English expression, those who have only low fluidity along the continuum. They may not necessarily come from a low socio-economic background. Cut off from schooling opportunities at a young age, these speakers have continued using the IFE/SCE with interference from the surrounding languages that they know and the different models of English available.

Their use of English would signal a separating function: them-Singaporeans vs us-Singaporeans in terms of the ability to move easily and widely along the continuum. Most will not be able to move from the informal, colloquial variety that they use all the time to that educated, formal variety that is used by the highly educated.

Again, there is the intelligibility question[21] which adds to the unifying/separatist consideration of Singapore English in terms of International Standard and the indigenously functional.

The assumption that speakers want to be intelligible all the time is not always correct. Sometimes there is the desire to be unintelligible to an outsider, e.g. in a multilingual environment bilinguals sometimes code-switch to a completely different language to keep a third party out of a piece of conversation. Singaporeans sometimes lect-switch to the lowest variety of English found here, in order to remain incomprehensible to an outsider.

Moreover, the 'rapport and solidarity' factor adds to the unifying function of IFE/SCE.

By the 'rapport' factor, I imply that there exists among English-educated Singaporeans a tendency to strike a rapport among themselves in their use of Singapore English, especially the colloquial variety. This rapport is not readily seen in their contact with native speakers of English from outside of Singapore. Again, we see how the use of English in Singapore serves a separatist function, the 'us' and 'them' phenomenon. The rapport/familiarity factor accounts for the use of the indigenized form of English, whether among highly educated or less educated individuals.

To obtain speaker notions of the forms of English they used, I carried out a simple exercise among three English-knowing bilingual students (in fact, three Punjabis who speak English at home, and learn/t English (EL1) and Mandarin (CL2) at school). W is a twenty year old national serviceman, B is an eighteen year old junior college student, and K is a fifteen year old high school student (reading for his Cambridge 'O' levels).

They were asked to read a number of utterances in SCE, the indigenized form of English in Singapore, and asked to translate into what they would consider an appropriate form for somebody who is new to the country and a native speaker of English. The numbered sentences and the elicited forms from each are presented below. Only a selection is given below, owing to space limitation.

*(1) Aiya! Early early don'[22] say - now so late already. Where got[23] shop open now?

W: Oh no, why didn't you say so earlier. Now the shop is closed.

B: Why didn't you tell me earlier. The shops are all closed now.

K: Why didn't you tell me earlier. The shops are closed now.

*(2) Eh, you know that girl Rosemary or not? She very havoc one you know. Every night come home so late, give her father scold!

W: Do you know the girl Rosemary? She is very havoc. She comes home late every night and gets a scolding from her father.

B: You know that girl Rosemary? She's very havoc. Comes home late every night and gets a scolding from her father.

K: Do you know that girl Rosemary? She's very loose. Every night she comes home so late that her father scolds her.

*(3) I tell you, you help me I help you OK? You don say me I don say you lah.

W: You scratch my back, I'll scratch your back. You don't backstab me and I won't backstab you.

B: I'll scratch your back and you scratch mine.

K: If I help you I hope you'll return the favour. You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours.

*(4) You try to teach my son la, I tell you, you can cough blood[24] you know.

W: You try teaching my son and you will vomit blood.

B: My son is unteachable.

K: I don't think you'll have enough patience to teach my son.

*(5) You believe her ah, not real one lah, she play play only.

W: Don't believe her; she's just pulling a fast one on you.

B: It's not real; she's putting up an act.

K: Don't be taken in; she's not serious (about you).

*(6) You din do homework ah! Die for you! After give teacher scold; eh, she very fierce one you know.

W: You didn't do your homework? You're going to get a scolding from the fierce teacher you have.

B: That fierce teacher is going to scold you for not doing your work.

K: You're in deep trouble; your teacher's going to scold you for not doing your homework.

Comparing the responses obtained from native speakers of English (one British lecturer who had been teaching in Singapore for 12 years, another who had been teaching for 6 years and an Australian who had been teaching for 5 years), it is clear that these Singaporeans are quite close to International Standards as represented in the responses given by these native speakers.

Immediately after the responses were obtained, quick individual interviews with the three (W, B, and K) were conducted, as to which variety (the first or the second) they preferred for themselves. Their answers are given below:

W: I would speak to my close friends either way. But to fellow-soldiers and reservists, the asterisked forms are preferred. The reason is that I don't want to appear snobbish.

B: If I speak to friends my age, and informally, I'll speak that (asterisked) way. It's easier to communicate and sometimes if you speak proper English they will feel that you are trying to put on an act and appear high-class. What's worse, some can't understand if you speak in proper English and it's so embarrassing for me to have college mates among them. I will definitely not use the 'local' form with principal and teachers.
Perhaps to teachers I'm close to, I'll speak Proper English with a **la** at the end. With **la** especially when used overseas, people will recognize that you're from Singapore.

K: I prefer to speak the second way, especially to my good friend, Donny. It sounds better, more presentable. I used to speak the first way up to Secondary 3. Now I am in Secondary 4, I've decided to change because it will be of use in the future. I want proper English to come out naturally. Sometimes, I suffer lapses into the first because old habits are hard to

break. If dealing with certain people, such as a person who has not had much education, I would speak in the first way, to make him comfortable, and not make him feel I'm snobbish. If you talk in the second way, then people will think you are trying to lose your Singapore identity and trying to speak like a foreigner. They think that Singlish is unique so if you talk properly, they will think that you are trying to be high-class and you probably won't have a big circle of friends. It depends on who is being spoken to.

The possibility of lect-switching, for reasons of rapport and solidarity, exists for these English-knowing bilinguals. English-knowing bilinguals range along the speech continuum from high level formality/proficiency (as shown in the use of Standard Singapore English) to low level formality/proficiency, displaying 'good-usage' in one or rudimentary or even pidgin-like proficiency in the other. Their receptivity to this fluidity of movement along the range of the speech continuum enables them to have larger triangulations. The fluidity among English-knowing bilinguals, changing from one variety of English to the other and back again, is a process that is often missed, and gives the impression that a kind of semi-formal English is all that can be achieved by English users here.

Most of the relatively young speakers in this sample will take up positions where their linguistic behavior will serve as a model to other speakers.

They are the English-knowing bilinguals, a breed that Singapore would have produced by the turn of the twenty-first century, confident in the knowledge that they can hold their own in standard English and yet, use Singapore Colloquial English which is non-standard, rather than sub-standard, for their own purposes and communication and in acts of identity.

4. Conclusion

The status of English and the issue of standard English in Singapore have to be examined from a sociolinguistic perspective. The very wide range, from a formal 'international' English to highly distinctive types spoken by those comfortable with the indigenously functional, indigenized form of English whether from lower educational and socio-economic status or not, have resulted from use and user considerations, especially speaker attitude and use. Sociolinguists recognise that there is no single, homogeneous, monolithic variety called Singapore English but instead there exists a whole range of sub-varieties.

The above discussion of English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore suggests the necessity of a model of expanding triangles to understand how a range of varieties of English can be expected and for what reasons.

Whether or not this model of expanding triangles of English expression is psychologically real[25], we can use it to understand the range and diversity of the sub-varieties of English spoken by English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore, the kinds used by individuals highly proficient in the language.

English-knowing bilinguals, as examined in this study, range in their bi-dimensionality in terms of formality and proficiency. Gaining proficiency is a process requiring instruction at the most formal level. However, having gained proficiency in the language, the individuals are free to range from the highest levels of formality to the lowest, which includes forms used representative of basilectal-like speech (IFE).

Thus, a picture of English use in Singapore emerges: increasingly we see the phenomenon of lectal switches from formal/standard English to informal/non-standard English.

The standard is close to that of English spoken in the Inner Circle[26] and can be considered International Standard. The non-standard is peculiar to the Singapore setting and is favoured where rapport and intimacy are assumed among advanced English-knowing bilinguals or where limited proficiency allows the individual only a narrow range up the cline of formality and the cline of proficiency. The indigenous variety, indigenously functional, and labelled an IFE or SCE in this paper, is rapidly being taken upon by speakers (and increasingly writers) in Singapore to represent a Singaporean identity.

The observation of the authors of THE STORY OF ENGLISH (McCrum, Cran and MacNeil 1987:336) bears repetition:

> The English favoured by the government is, of course, the Standard English of international finance, trade and technology. But the English emerging in the multi-racial, multicultural society of Singapore is rather different.

How different that English is, is not a matter of a finished product as much as an on-going process leading to several products. The use of English in a rapidly growing English-knowing bilingual community, gives rise to distinctive sub-varieties of Singapore English.

Although Singapore will not become a monolingual community with everybody speaking English, the special circumstances regarding the relationship of English and its speakers in the island city-state republic will ensure the emergence of English-knowing bilingualism here. The concomitant emergence of several varieties of Singapore English will be a natural development with the educated variety (SSE) --being not much different from other identified standards in both spoken and written forms -- prevailing as an ISE.

With our focus on speakers of the language, we do well to remember an observation by Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (1968:1):

> Languages do not really exist except as part of a matrix of language varieties, language behaviors, and behaviors towards language.

So also 'standard languages'. This is especially true in the case of a global language such as English with its myriad indigenized forms and its vested international standard forms.

NOTES

[1]Alan Davies cites Crystal's (1988) estimate that there are over 700 million English users, of whom more than 300 million are native speakers. 'Others have put the total over 1 billion' (Davies, 1989: 455).

[2]See Tay and Gupta (1983) and Gupta (1986) for a discussion on a standard for written Singapore English.

[3]English has been the first school language (EL1) for the majority of school children since the 1980s. Today, about ten per cent of the total school population who are academically able and who wish to study Chinese at first language level (CL1) along with EL1 can do so at 10 primary schools, 9 secondary schools, and two junior colleges. Malay and Indian children are also allowed the opportunity to have Malay as the first school language (TL1) along with EL1. To date, the demand has not been made.

[4]The Straits Times, 9 October 1987.

[5]On 12 July 1986, S Rajaratnam, Senior Minister in the Prime Minister's Office was reported thus in the Straits Times press: 'I think Singapore is the only country in the world to use a foreign language as its working language'.

[6]Quirk and Stein in their discussion of 'What is Standard English?' argue that 'Standard English has regional branches, especially the English branch and the American....(1990: 120). They foresee that as 'further national branches develop (Australian English is an obvious candidate), the breadth and complexity of Standard English vocabulary must inevitably increase.' (1990: 121).

[7]Tay, Mary W.J (1983: 176): 'the official definition of bilingualism in Singapore is proficiency in English and one other official language. Thus, from the age of six, every child has to learn English and one of the other official languages'.

[8]A quotation from the Minister of Education, Tony Tan, as reported in the Straints Times press, 17 march 1990. The term 'mother tongue' as officially used in fact refers to 'ethnic mother tongue', i.e. Mandarin for the Chinese, Malay for the Malays, Tamil for the Indians.

[9]See Bloom (1986: 416-417) where difficulties of the model are pointed out succinctly.

[10]Tay (1986: 103-104) discusses the advantages of the Platt and Weber (1980) model while dealing with its serious inadequacies.

[11]Bloom (1986: 423) reports Tongue's (1974) and Crewe's (1977) early recognition of 'two varieties of English spoken in Singapore, one formal and one informal; that the formal one is something like a standard, but not everybody can speak it proficiently; and that the informal variety, which practically eveyone does know, is definitely not standard.'

[12]See Strevens 1983: 23-30

[13]The idea of a different Singapore English speech continuum was first presented in a conference paper (Pakir, 1988).

[14]Bloom has delimited 4 major varieties of English in Singapore (1986: 439): (1) the formal, inter alia, standard variety; (2) the informal, inter alia, nonstandard; (3) the English of the Chinese-educated (playfully labelled helicopter English); and (4) the standard language of Southeast England, whose status in Singapore is ambivalent.

[15]See Kachru (1983: 41ff) on the use of the term 'clines' to describe proficiency in English and its functional uses in non-native varieties of English.

[16]I am grateful to N.S. Prabhu whose discussion with me on my 1988 paper led to this idea of expanding triangles of English expression among English-knowing bilinguals in Singapore.

[17]In popular usage, the term SINGLISH is often used to refer to the 'substandard' variety. It is usually a colloquial variety, now increasingly seen in print (in the Straits Times, most recently) or works by Singapore writers. Examples that come to mind are humor books by Toh Paik-Choo (Eh Goondu!, 1983, and Lagi Goondu!, 1987), and plays by Michael Chiang (Army Daze, the Assorted Misadventures of a National Serviceman, 1985) and Stella Kon (Emily of Emerald Hill, 1989). This colloquial variety called Singlish is used by choice by people who have a full mastery of the standard variety or by people who have little or no mastery of English. There has been a recent show of pride in this indigenized form of English:

> 'Singlish is the spontaneous and delightful way that Singaporeans express themselves in English. In short, street talk. It is a language that is exclusively ours, lah. Singlish is the common dialect of the people of Singapore.'
>
> -- A quotation from The New Paper, 15 August 1988.

[18]See Tay, 1986: 93: 'The word lect suggests language variation. Thus, there is dialect (variation according to geographical region), sociolect (variation according to socioeconomic class), and idiolect (variation according to individual, possibly idiosyncratic usage). When the word lect is used with reference to Singaporean Malaysian English, it suggests that Singaporean-Malaysian English is not a homogeneous variety but a variety with various sub-varieties, where variation depends not only on user factors such as level of education, social class, but also on use factors such as the degree of formality.'

[19]The data is from TYC, a student in the EL302 (Language in Society) course that I teach.

[20]Discourse or communicative particles serve to mark emotive or attitudinal speech involving dimension of informality, familiarity, solidarity and rapport between participants. See Richards and Tay 1977, Kwan-Terry

1978, Bel and Ser 1983, Loke and Low 1988. In particle analysis two major problems are raised by Platt 1987: (i) To what extent do these particles function as speech community indicators and/or stylistic markers? (ii) Are they uni or multifunctional? Platt's discussion on the communicative or discourse functions of particles in informal Singapore English covers a, la, ho, lo, le, me, what, ma, man, and de which all appear in 'Basilectal Singapore English' but Platt emphasizes the fact that only a, and what appear consistently higher up on the sociolectal scale (Platt 1987: 395, Platt and Ho, 1989: 220).

[21]On the intelligibility question, Tay 1986 (cf. Smith, 1981) has turned our attention to these questions: who is intelligible, about what, to whom, where, when and why.

[22]An orthographic representation of a reduced final consonant cluster.

[23]Platt and Weber (1980: 61) describe Singapore English GET (with meanings 'to obtain' or 'to become') which in the past tense form GOT, as well as the verb form GOT, has either possessive denotations or existential-locative denotations:

(1) I got two brother, one sister
'I have two brothers and a sister.'
(2) Here got many nice houses
'There are many nice houses here'.

[24]Lexical equivalents from the other languages for 'cough blood' are 'chikek dara' (Malay) and 'tor hueh' (Hokkien). One has to be severely ill to disgorge blood. The expression is meant to describe extreme exasperation at someone.

[25]Compare, for example, the problem of variable rules advocated by variationists: are variable rules psychologically real? Cf. Downes 1984: 101.

[26]See Kachru 1987: 223, footnote 6, for a quick summary of his terms 'Inner Circle', 'Outer Circle', and 'Expanding Circle'. In Outer Circle settings, non-native 'institutionalized' varieties have developed. In the Expanding Circle 'performance' non-native varieties are said to be developing.

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F - Cline = Formality Cline

P - Cline = Proficiency Cline

Stakeholders and Standards: Englishes for Tomorrow's India

Makhan L Tickoo

Abstract: 'What standard(s) should be aimed at in teaching English as an international language?' has of late been receiving a good deal of attention among linguistic scholars. Three viewpoints have emerged and each shows a different understanding of the what and the why. In this paper I first examine each view to understand its (possible) impact on TEFL in India and on all those Indians whose lives are influenced by this language. I then sketch an educational alternative for the future based in the twin beliefs a) that the current ELT system, having failed to uphold its stated objectives and proved itself incapable of meeting the major challenges it faces as an organ of national growth and development, must set itself realistic and attainable goals and b) that any viable alternative must primarily be judged by how far and how well it answers the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of English language's Indian stakeholders.

Introduction

English is not an Indian language. Nor, on the other hand, is it just a foreign/second language. This language influences the lives and fortunes of not just those millions who learn it and use it, nor only those larger and fast multiplying millions who suffer in untold ways for failing to do either. Its evergrowing power and influence, its rapidly-expanding roles and functions, its complex relationships with India's own languages of learning and use (see, e.g. Tickoo 1990), its privileged position but also the undiminished public challenges to that power and position and, above all, the 'hidden curriculum' that operates in the attitudes to its teaching, learning and use, are among the issues that confront all its stakeholders. All these issues require careful attention in considering the place of English in tomorrow's India and each one has to be addressed in answering the question 'What standards should be aimed at in the teaching and learning of English in India?' The question is thus not a mere (socio)linguistic conundrum, nor just a daunting challenge to ESL pedagogy. It engages the politician and policy planner, the (socio)linguist and language programme developer, the educational administrator, and, most of all, all those who seek and, every agency or individual that, in various ways, provides access to the unique riches and resources of this language.

English in India has to be viewed simultaneously as part of the subcontinent's problem-plagued multilingual policies and its uniquely rich and varied linguistic heritage. Fascinatingly complex, the former perpetually presents frustratingly irresolvable problems. As Morris Jones found in the 1960s, "It is misleading to speak of dealing with the problem of language in contemporary India; it is a matter of containing and limiting a difficulty and learning to live with it "(Jones 1967). The latter - a priceless asset - has found strong support in the hope-inspiring findings of recent bilingual research (see, e.g. Cummins & Swain 1986), viz. that becoming bilingual adds uniquely to a person's personality and potential and that therefore English alongside other languages of learning is capable of making sizeable contributions to a better equipped and more resilient socio-economic system.

This paper is premised on the following four basic beliefs: (a) that the 28 million (Kachru 1987) users of English in India form a small minority of the language's stakeholders, (b) that the currently accepted and essentially linguistic answers to the question: 'What standard(s) should be aimed at in the teaching/ learning and use of English?' are proving grossly ineffective and unacceptably wasteful, (c) that a viable and workable answer must, as well as making the best possible use of the nation's educational resources, serve the interests of all those whose lives and fortunes are influenced by the roles and status of English and, most important of all, (d) that such an answer requires a consensus among policy planners and influential linguists followed by determined action to make it work. Divided into two parts,the paper attempts a brief analysis of the existing answers (Part I) with a view to making it serve as a basis for outlining an alternative (Part II) which in turn is informed by the understanding that the English language of today which "comes in many guises" (Quirk and Stein 1990) must, in tomorrow's India, become an efficient instrument of socio-economic reconstruction serving to improve the lives of all its stakeholders.

I. Analysing the answers

Three propositions can be said to roughly represent the current macro-level (socio)linguistic views on the subject of standards in international English. Each has latterly been articulated in scholarly works on the subject and each finds sizeable support among one or more influential groups of linguistic scholars and language educators. The three are:

a. the liberal-norms proposition which does not require the EF(S)L system to work towards any predetermined standards;

b. the universal norms proposition which is a product of the understanding that a uniform standard of English not only exists but is and should continue to be the only norm for every system where English is taught and used as a second or foreign language;

c. the autonomous norms proposition which is supported by the awareness that in at least some parts of the ESL world where this language has been used for several generations, new indigenous norms have already evolved and it is these national norms which are best suited to the systems of teaching and learning in such countries.

In what follows I shall look at a-c to understand some relevant aspects of their impact on India's ELT system and on its products.

a. Liberation or Deprival?:

"Our speech/writing in English needs to be intelligible only to those with whom we wish to communicate in English" (Smith 1988 emphasis added), expresses a stand which can evoke two different responses. That it suggests a catholicity of outlook with a willingness to embrace language variation across cultures, is one; that it smacks of permissiveness in showing a wanton disregard for essential standards, is the other. Inside today's India this 'liberationist' view can be seen to command sizeable support among at least two sections of language practitioners. It most of all appeals to that section of India's linguistic scholars whose analysis of even the most basilectal uses of English (e.g. IPE: in Mehrotra 1982) shows creative processes at work, attests to the functional appropriateness of each such use and justifies giving it the status of a viable variety. Among large sections of the EFL practitioners this view appears also to make a wide appeal in as much as it provides a seal of approval for English teaching in thousands of vernacular-medium schools which form the bulk of the formal schooling system and whose products very often speak and write English which they alone understand. Above all, although it lacks curricular sanction, it can be said to be in operation in a majority of state-run schools. In the words of the Gokak Committee on the teaching of English, "Even pupils who have matriculated with first class marks, passing out of a high school which has a regional language as its medium, fail generally to understand either their P.U.C or higher secondary texts or the lectures delivered in English in the P.U.C classes. As for expression, it is almost non-existent in the large majority of cases or has a ghost-life in which the likeness to the original is getting fainter and fainter every day. There are almost as many kinds of written English as there are candidates taking an examination" (Gokak 1967).

For all its popular appeal and humane stance, however, this liberal and 'liberating' proposition appears, in the final analysis, to work against the products of the schools that in practice embody it. In economic terms it locks most such school-leavers into the least paid jobs or, in a growing percentage of cases, consigns them to the category of unemployables. In a country where a functional command of factual English is a gateway to the bulk of better-paid jobs, such an objective also serves to perpetuate the worst forms of India's debilitating language-based 'caste' system. In its failure to recognise that decisions on who communicates with whom, when or where, are in most cases made by the necessities of public life, such a view also seems to promise a world where wishes determine rewards.

The social consequences of an educational policy that adopts such a view are already well known. They apply in equal measure in both ES(F)L and ENL (English as a first language) worlds. In both, as Widdowson points out, "nose picking and bad grammar are social markers" (Widdowson 1988) and in both "Minimal human beings are free to behave as they choose so long as they are kept in their place and do not threaten to gatecrash the party" (Ibid). In each case before they seek membership in one or another important domain of public life, aspirants must learn the linguistic etiquette and behaviour that characterise it.

For all its promise of making learning fun and language use easy, this anything-goes proposition thus hardly merits the linguistic respectability or pedagogic attention that it has latterly begun to receive. The path to liberation that it charts is also the surest road to economic deprivation and social degradation.

b. <u>High Aims, Low Opportunities</u>:

The second proposition, as pointed out above, comes with the understanding that there is "a single monochrome standard form" (Quirk 1985) of English (SE) that is capable of serving all needs equally. Anything that does not conform to its structures and systems has therefore to be seen not only as "low on the cline of Englishness" (Quirk 1988) but also deviant and deficient. In India its votaries include many leaders in education, media and politics who see little reason for a separate set of norms for the language's use in the country. In their view the users' failures are always a result of not keeping in touch with the evolving idiom in 'real' English and the obvious remedy lies in doing so. All this finds support in the widely held belief in the educated native speaker's inviolable right and innate ability to act as model and lay down the rule. What is more, it is something for which she/he "bears a certain responsibility" and has "a certain interest" (Quirk 1989). The only viable goal for ESL systems is therefore to submit to a firmly fixed universal standard.

Traditionally regarded as unexceptionable, the acceptance of SE as "the ubiquitous norm" (Quirk & Stein: 1990) bristles with problems, both of theory and of practical pedagogy.

Linguistically, SE relies on concepts such as native speaker and mother tongue. Both beg a number of questions and are being seen as "the linguist's... professional myths" (Ferguson 1982) by a growing number of language educators (e.g. Kachru 1982, Paikeday 1988), some of whom now seek or suggest alternatives (Rampton 1990) that warrant a radical rethinking of both concepts.

Educationally, SE raises a number of issues at several levels of pedagogic responsibility. The first applies to the vast majority of ES(F)L systems. Linguists who advocate SE as the only acceptable model do so in the knowledge that the best way to make it work is to tap native-speaker judgment and authority. Here, for instance, is part of expert advice for teachers of written English: "The technique of reformulation has much promise, although it is not free of problems. It is important to find a native reformulator who writes reasonably well. But even if the writer is only average, writers are still getting a model of native language input, which in itself is important. In learning how to say things correctly or appropriately in a target language, we frequently find ourselves turning for assistance to any native we are speaking to, regardless of whether the person is a qualified language teacher" (emphasis added Cohen 1989; also see Quirk 1989).

What we have above is unquestioned faith in the native-speaker's ability to not only speak correctly and appropriately but to write with assured competence and, what is more, to serve as the ultimate guide to ESL teachers in their work. Apart from the fact that there is as yet little empirical evidence to support such faith, there are reasons to doubt whether the 'gift' which is said to lie in what are called "radically different internalisations" (Coppieters 1987 as quoted in Quirk 1989) of a native speaker, is truly so universal (See, e.g. Christopherson 1990 for some serious doubts on Coppieters' research.)

First, work being done on first language users of English in both schools (e.g. Martin 1985) and colleges (e.g. Donovan & McClelland 1980), shows that the genres related to important aspects of academic and professional writing have, in the main, to be learnt in school and, for certain purposes (e.g. business or technical reports etc.) at the graduate-school level. As John Swales points out, "in all these cases...it would seem that being a native speaker or near-native speaker is itself not enough for the timely and efficient creation of a successful product" (Swales 1986). Secondly, it is common knowledge that "large numbers of young adults leave school without ever becoming proficient writers" (Hedge 1988) in their first language. More importantly perhaps, as I have shown elsewhere (Tickoo 1988), even experienced native teachers who speak well and write competently, may at times be unable to provide guides to usage that reflect current idiom. Above all, in contexts where English is taught primarily for use in

intranational purposes, it may have become part of pedagogic wisdom to consider the view that "It is hard to see anything but native speaker self-interest in promotion of the 'native speaker knows' myth." (George:1991)

Another set of problems is more true of India than it is of, say, Singapore or Brunei. With millions of learners struggling to learn English in 'difficult circumstances' (West 1960), SE as a universal goal is far from attainable. For most such pupils it is rare to come in contact with a speaker who can serve as a model of such English. Schools in which the foundations of English are laid, are, in a majority of cases, staffed by teachers whose own use of English is full of peculiarities of usage and literal translations of the local idiom. Especially in such acquisition-poor environments which constitute the bulk and where contact with the language is limited to an hour a day in the English classroom, it is rare for learners to acquire even a basic competence in the use of English. As the number of Indian pupils seeking to learn English grows larger, the links with SE are becoming more and more tenuous. For the vast majority of Indian pupils SE has already become a totally unreachable target.

The educational failures also breed major social problems which are likely to assume threatening proportions if the system continues its current curricular commitment to this manifestly unattainable goal. These include the growing potential for social divisiveness: the ever-widening gulf which separates students who enter tertiary-level institutions with a (near) safe command of English (i.e. the products of genuinely English-medium schools) and the vast majority who do not. The former constitute a separate 'caste' in educational institutions and, after they leave school, in work-places; they demand and often receive differential treatment and, on most occasions, they react in totally dissimilar ways to life and learning. This gulf may soon become an unbreachable chasm with horrendous socio-economic consequences. Besides, where the goals set are unreachable, the average pupil almost always gives up in hopelessness, thus adding to the national system's unacceptably high percentage of drop-outs and the frighteningly enormous educational wastage.

Finally, there is a major set of problems which lie in resource mobilization: the upholding of SE depends on the availability of qualified and trained ES(F)L teachers. India's teacher-training colleges where primary and secondary teachers receive their pre- or in-service training are, in the vast majority of cases, not the places where teachers can keep in touch with the structure of British or American English. Nor is there adequate provision to attempt such a task in the nine state-level English Language Institutes (ELTIs) (Jain 1990) that exist today. With one or two exceptions, they are understaffed and grossly ill-equipped for any large-size or long-term specialist training. They remain content with ad hoc, short-term courses for a small minority of English teachers. In most mother-tongue medium schools English is now taught by teachers who are neither trained nor qualified to do so.

SE as the universal goal may thus be posing a challenge which, besides making unacceptably high demands on the national systems' limited manpower resources, is becoming a main source of highly destructive socio-economic disparity.

c. **High Rhetoric, Low Recognition:**

Relatively new, the autonomous norms proposition has of late been gaining a lot of support among linguists and language educators. Most (socio)linguists of today would, for instance, find little to doubt in David Crystal's contention that for the English language "language variation and language change (are) ... at the centre of its identity" (Crystal 1988), although only a few may have either his foresight or the mental preparedness required to visualize a day in the next 100 years "when the home languages of Indians, Americans, Jamaicans, and others are mutually unintelligible, but the whole community is bound together by the continuing existence of a lingua franca" which he terms "an English international lingua franca".

A growing acceptance of the view that non-native varieties of English, or new Englishes (Pride 1982, Platt 1984) have earned the right to autonomous existence ('norm setting status': Kachru 1985) is only partly an offshoot of growing nationalism in the countries of the 'outer circle' (Kachru 1985) where English now serves some of the most vital functions in living and learning. The main strength of such a view is owed to two other types of understanding: one, that in some ESL countries the indigenisation of English may be a result as much of markedly distinctive styles of creative construction and socio-cultural interaction as of apparent pedagogic failure (or what Platt (1989) calls "products of mishearing and overgeneralization") and secondly, that the accredited native speaker of the language may no longer be the right model to emulate in many characteristic contexts of English use inside such countries.

However, to assert that English in India is a variety like any other or that, in important ways, it is an institutionalised, self-contained and rule-governed system, has obvious implications for everyone who is entrusted with the maintenance of its standards in teaching, evaluation and use. Problems start just there and many, once again, defy easy solutions. The main ones include the following:

i. Attitudinal blind alleys A major if not entirely intractable problem is largely attitudinal: most administrators and a sizeable percentage of influential English educators are not convinced that English as used in India today (IndE) is by any definition a "viable variety" (Daswani 1974). With good reason, some of them argue that "there are a large number of different Indian Englishes" only the best of which should be designated

"educated Indian English" (Das 1982). Others go further and believe that IndE is just another name for "bad English" (Rao 1965); it is "the careless use of prepositions, the careless use of idioms, many of them distinctly Indian (which) proclaims it as a fractured version of English... It may have flavour... but no language has ever become acceptable for the educated of the world on the ground that it has a flavour of its own" (Wasi 1970).

There can be two possible motivations for such attitudes. One, widely shared, is an understandable concern for international intelligibility. The other is that many of those who refuse to recognise educated IndE as a variety and most of those who look down upon it, do so principally because their minds are made up about what constitutes 'real' English or, what is no less true, that they deliberately pick on examples of bad grammar/usage to arrive at such categorical judgments. What should help in both cases is awareness of two different kinds. First, that intelligibility is a barely understood complex phenomenon which is often only partly related to a user's mastery of the linguistic system. Second, that other Englishes, e.g. American English (e.g. Kahane 1977) or Australian English (Kaldor in this volume) have had to pass through similar stages on their way to international acceptance.

ii. Issues in implementation: Truly intractable problems arise, however, when the national EFL system or a part thereof begins to grapple with the challenges of implementing the autonomous norm. Questions that arise here are not just those of what to accept or reject, insist on or make optional but what authority to rely upon or what models to emulate in formal or informal encounters in either intranational or international contexts of use. Let us look at parts of what happens.

The first major problem is where to look for normative guidance or authority. IndE has not yet been defined or, for pedagogical purposes, devised as a model. Nor as yet is there a book or manual that provides access to acceptable Indianisms. Even the ad hoc collections that have latterly become available (e.g Nihalani, Tongue, Hosali 1979), fail to take a stand on whether or when to accept which listed item.[1]

Closely related to the above are two avoidable failures: 1) the Indian linguists' failure to separate rhetoric from reality and 2) their inability to offer the practitioner support or security. Both are best illustrated by actual examples.

1. Of late linguists have been at work to describe some aspects of the grammar of IndE. An excerpt from one such attempt follows:

"English English imposes certain tense and pronominal restrictions on the choices in the embedded sentences; Indian English tends to relax these restrictions:

IE: I asked Hari where does he work.
EE: I asked Hari where he worked.
IE: Tell me clearly are you coming.
EE: Tell me clearly if you are coming.....

It might seem tempting to dismiss these patterns as nothing more than an accumulation of errors or foreignisms caused by the failure of the speakers to master standard English... They have assumed such stability and continuity that they can be seen more like dialectal innovations than ephemeral foreignisms. The sentences in the preceding list are all part of the grammar of a great many educated speakers of English. This variety does not prevent effective communication; it is capable of clarity, complexity, power, and tenderness" (Verma 1982).

Now, there can be little doubt about the authenticity of the statements made above: the example sentences are part of the English spoken by many, perhaps a majority, of educated Indians. Also, used in context, they may not cause any miscomprehension. Doubt may be raised about their presumed 'power', 'tenderness', 'complexity' but that is perhaps a question of subjective judgment. What is at issue however is whether and in what contexts the author himself would permit if not defend such usages. The fact is that both in what they teach and in what they put in their pedagogic grammars or instructional materials, Indian linguists, with few exceptions, refuse to give any place to such usages. In most cases, as custodians of standards which they inevitably are, they find themselves correcting or, in appropiate contexts, penalizing such 'mistakes' or aberrations in their students' writings. Therein lies the first 'formidable' pedagogic roadblock .

2. The second example comes from my experience as a writer of Centrally sponsored materials at India's only foreign-languages university (viz. CIEFL) which is also charged with the maintenance of high standards. In the mid-seventies a multi-media package of general-purpose EFL materials was being prepared by a team at CIEFL. I was one of them. The materials for Stage 1 having been finalised, they had to be audio-recorded. The team deliberated on the choice of the model and, by consensus, decided for General Indian(GI) which, having by then received support from several research studies in India and in the U.K (Bansal: 1969, Masica and Dave 1972), was gaining acceptance among influential sections of linguists and educators. A problem soon arose

however: none of the team was prepared to participate in the recording as no one felt confident of being able to spontaneously speak GI. Nor was any member of the Phonetics Department, each of whom including the author of GI (Bansal 1968), believed that their own English 'approximated' RP in many more ways than it did GI "even at its best".[2] The materials were recorded but the model was RP.

Similar examples abound. They come from tertiary-level institutions as well as schools where the foundations of English are laid. In varying ways each provides supportive evidence to show the intractable problems that stand between upholding IndE and making it an effective pedagogic model. The source- and course-books that serve teachers and students alike, are still either imported from the U.K or modelled on/derived from British reference grammars or, more often, their derivatives. Although the bulk of school-level English textbooks and auxiliary materials have been indigenised and a large number of anthologies for undergraduate courses are produced by Indian authors/editors of such materials, their model remains virtually unchanged. It is English English.

What does all this add up to? The answer is that the battle for realistic attitudes and action remains to be fought and it has to be fought not so much in the ENL world where most of the current dialogue is taking place, as among policy planners and language programme designers inside India. IndE as a norm-setting variety seems as yet to be thus more an unmet challenge than an unrecognised reality.

II. What we have seen so far is that despite their obvious strengths, the three linguistic solutions are incapable of forming the base of an ELT system which can serve the interests of the vast majority of English language's Indian stakeholders. What remains is to look for an alternative which has a good chance of doing so. The following points have received attention in the making of a pragmatic, if also somewhat controversial and futuristic, proposal that is outlined below:

1. For the definable future the English language will continue to be by far the most powerful linguistic resource in India's economic growth and reconstruction. However, to justify this dominant role and, at the same time, become a valued ally for the growing millions whose lives are influenced by it, its use must be governed by a clear awareness of four fundamentals:

   a. The first is that the ELT systems, both public and private, formal and non-formal, must avowedly aim at and work for social equality and not be used, as they have for long been, to maintain inequality or to perpetuate the currently debilitating 'caste' system.

b. The second which supports the first, is that language standards, being primarily normative, are mainly determined by those in education and public life who have traditionally assumed the right and authority to be the arbiters. This being so, it follows that the issue of standards in ESL is in important ways attitudinal and aesthetic and that no alternative can succeed without a major change of heart among those Indians who wield power and influence decisions on acceptability and use.

c. A closely related third point is that the ever-growing power of English has generated strongly entrenched and supremely powerful vested interests that are bound to feel badly threatened by any curricular reform that seeks to equalise the opportunities of access to this language. The most formidable obstruction to any reform may therefore lie in the influence that such interest groups wield in decision making and programme implementation.

d. Fourthly, something that illustrates part of the same phenomenon: not enough is being done to grasp the impact that getting an exclusively English education, which a minority of better placed Indians manage for their children, has on the society as a whole. What is known is that it adds to the numbers of "denationalized individuals": West 1958), "degrades the 'In language' "(Ibid) and excludes the masses from their share of socio-economic gains. (Jernudd 1981; Srivastava and Gupta 1984). The least understood but much the most harmful effects may lie however in what it does to the creative potential of those learners who, in becoming totally English educated, have to give up all too early their contact with their own language, with the traditions that it enshrines and, above all, with the vast majority of most other Indians who are unable to similarly use English as an instrument of communication. Viewed in this context the belief that English language in India is or can ever be a neutral instrument, suggests a failure to understand its hidden power and potential. The English language has been, is and will continue to be a major change-agent for good and bad attitudes, ideas and actions.

2. Work on establishing the national standard(s) must begin in full view of the fact that it is in the multiply powerful roles that English performs as a primary vehicle of information generation (Widdowson 1982) that it is indispensable for the nation's future growth and development. This being so, its roles as a language of social survival and interpersonal interaction have to be regarded as much less central to national needs. For the same reason the Education Commission's (1964-66) plea for making English the most powerful 'library language' should have received stronger support, far greater and more analytical

understanding among language planners and educators, and more resolute follow-up action than it has so far.

3. Work on establishing standards is also bound to bring into effect the dichotomy between the 'ought to' and 'can' of curricular decision making. The former underscores the importance of upholding intelligibility and acceptability in different inter- and intra-national uses of English; the latter serves as a reminder that in so far as state-level curriculum renewal is a "patient pursuit of the possible" (Bruner: 1966), a model that sets the standards at one level need not necessarily prove itself fully adequate at another. To remain realistic educational goals must, above all, reflect a deep awareness of the means that are or can be made available by a schooling system for their realisation.[3]

4. The English language can serve India best only when it not only works but is seen to work in complete harmony with other languages of learning in a system of additive bilingualism where each such language complements the other(s) to serve the shared minimum goals of universal literacy.

5. Finally, a relatively unrecognised resource: English in India is different from many other varieties of English in Asia or elsewhere in the non-English speaking world in that it is supported by an ever-growing and already impressive number of literary works many of which are rightly regarded (see, e.g. Kachru 1986) as a most powerful manifestation of the way in which this alien language has been taking strong roots in the sub-continent. Although it is true that many of the special coinages and creations in much of this literature are only rarely found in the ordinary user's Ind-E, such writings are a most powerful source for the emergence of a variety that is truly Indian. Whether they are born out of processes that are shared by native and non-native writers alike(Widdowson 1988), or are significantly "shaped by the traditions of their other languages" inside their multilingual and multiliterary societies (Thumboo 1988), or can be viewed mainly as "idiosyncratic dialects" (Corder 1981), is perhaps less relevant for our purpose here than the fact that what sets them apart is their ability to serve as a rich resource for the establishment of a variety that is truly Indian.

II.a. Towards an Alternative

i. The question of costs:

A preliminary to any search for alternatives will always be the issue of affordability: 'Can/should the educational system invest its very limited resources in an undertaking which will inevitably make high demands on men and materials?' Raised in the global context (e.g. Greenbaum 1985), the question

has produced doubts about the ability of nations in the 'outer circle' to meet the costs of establishing and upholding autonomous norms. Doing so, it is argued, will call for heavy investment in language planning, teacher training, monitoring the printed language, influencing public attitudes towards the language and so on. (Also see Quirk 1988). The alternative envisaged here rests on the opposite view. In this view, for reasons that are moral as much as economic and social, a country of India's size and dependence on English, cannot afford not to invest in such pivotal sectors of national language planning. The economic argument is that the savings thus made on the phenomenal and fast multiplying educational 'wastage' will more than compensate for the investments made. The moral and social issues arise, as we saw above, in what the existing policies on ELT do to the vast majority of India's population. By setting itself standards that are way beyond the reach of the vast majority and by failing to equip most school leavers with even the basic competence in its use, India's EFL system has turned itself into a virtual farce. The country can ill-afford the price it pays in such colossal waste of human potential and must mobilize the necessary resources to equip the system to undertake what it can and must produce.

ii. The Main Task: Assuming then that the system will be prepared to undertake the reform, the next two questions to address are 'what standard(s) should be aimed at?' and 'how best can they be realised?' For both let us begin by briefly restating first, what exists now and next,what we may realistically envisage.

Under present arrangements the foundations of English are laid in schools which can be seen to form a continuum. At its top end are those schools, more private than public, where the language is taught well by teachers most of whom are themselves able to keep learning. Their numbers are small and, as the days pass, they get reduced to a progressively smaller percentage of the total. The vastly-expanding bottom end comprises those schools whose teachers have little contact with the language as she is used and who are, in most cases, able to produce users of stunted varieties of pidginised, often unusable, English. What therefore needs to be done is first to arrive at an understanding of what is both teachable and acceptable English and then to look for the most appropriate means for its realisation through the state-level ELT system. The key to success here will lie in prescriptive norms that are realistic, are based on sound description and are regularised and promulgated by institutions of the highest national authority. How can all this be done? An answer follows:

Two fundamentals must come first: One, although English in India is used both intranationally and for international communication, a significant difference between the two uses is that often what is both intelligible and

acceptable in the former may fall far short of what works in the latter. Work on setting the national norms should take this inevitable difference into account. On the other hand, something can be thought of as the common ground, viz. the preeminence of the language of fact: English in India is needed primarily as the main source and support for the retrieval, generation and dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge.

To provide for both essentials what is needed is to design and develop a synthetic model[4] of IndE capable of operating at two separate but hierarchical levels. Level 1, which can be called the threshold level (TL), must incorporate those basic morphological and syntactic essentials which are found necessary for the language's dominant intranational uses. At this level it will be necessary to foreground those features which represent English use at the national level and to deliberately exclude those aspects/features that characterise one or another variety (e.g. Kashmiri or Konkani speaker's English)within it. Level 2, to be called the optional advanced level (AL) and to be superposed on Level 1, must then add those features which are found to be necessary to make IndE an acceptable instrument of international communication. To make sure that the resources are used economically and for the good of all, the state-level EF(S)L systems should be made mainly responsible for equipping/enabling the school-leaver to use English as a vehicle of knowledge for TL. Courses in English for AL, for social survival or for other specific purposes (ESP) may then be provided either at tertiary-level institutions of specialist study or at privately-run ESP centres. In both cases it should be possible to run such courses in response to specific institutional or individual learner demands/needs and, in most cases, without sizeable subsidy from state-level systems.

The Work Ahead: What conrete measures must be taken to arrive at a pedagogically usable description of the two levels of IndE? The obvious first step will be a representative corpus-based study of current educated usage - India's 'edulect' (Gonzales and Bautista 1986) with particular reference to those features of morphology and syntax which, though admittedly different or deviant, are judged to be inalienable parts of IndE. If, for example, it is found that in current Indian usage the normal pattern is to use a 'that' clause with the verb 'want' in a sentence like 'The PM wants that every minister should declare his/her assets', the study should bring out the frequency of this use as also the contexts in which it is used. So too, for example, the ubiquitous 'isn't it' (You must be Mr. Das, isn't it?) as a question tag. A beginning in the right direction seems to have been made recently at one of the universities where a million-word corpus of Indian English comprising 500 texts of 2000 words each, is becoming available in machine-readable form as a basis for analysis and description (See Shastri 1985/1989). Much larger and more representative corpora will however be needed to make the research serve as a solid base for a fully acceptable pedagogic model for both TL and AL.

A second important step will become necessary to further reduce the teaching/learning burden to manageable proportions. What should prove most helpful here is descriptive work that will make it possible to confine IndE at the TL (perhaps both levels?) to those aspects/elements of morphology and syntax that constitute the essential core of factual English. For this, although a lot of work will have to be done to arrive at a complete description, good use can be made of existing work and ideas. In one of his last articles on the subject the late Michael West, for example, offered a list of 43 different "structural items which might perhaps be deferred or excluded in a course of Factual English" (West 1958). More recently in his concept of 'nuclear English' Randolph Quirk (e.g. Quirk 1981) has referred to areas/aspects of English syntax which too may be excluded from international English. What should prove equally helpful are the findings of researches done on the simplification of English (Ogden 1930-), on the simplification of its teaching (e.g. West 1953, Palmer 1931.) and more recently on word concordances as a guide to 'real' English (Sinclair 1987).

In educational terms the third important step may prove to be the factor that can spell success or failure. It is the design and development of curricula and courses - source and course materials, appropriate multi-media packages and teacher training programmes - all of which will in turn have to be based on dependable reference works including theoretical and pedagogic grammars of IndE and IndE dictionaries for various purposes. What should make the tasks here manageable is the existence of similar and recently undertaken work in countries of the English-speaking world (e.g. Australia) where the design of such works has been receiving considerable scholarly attention (See, e.g. Ramson 1987). On the curriculum and course design side recent ideas such as H V George's 'field coverage' courses (George 1991) should make the task much more manageable in large classes and difficult circumstances.

A fourth step requires both courage and conviction which, sad to say, have been in short supply among professional linguists who have for long been advocating autonomous norms for IndE. If a scientific description of educated usage is the only road to giving standard IndE general viability, scholarly support and personal example on the part of linguists and educationists is also the only possible road to making it acceptable both nationally and globally. A main reason why GI has failed to gain acceptance among teachers of spoken English is, as we saw above,the attitudinal failures of its authors and advocates. Similarly, one reason why the Indian linguist is unable to convince the policy planner, the administrator or the bulk of academics about the existence of IndE, is his failure to relate what he preaches to what he practices. The only national standard that has any chance of becoming acceptable by being taught in English classrooms, will have to be avowedly prescriptive and openly backed up by acceptable authority among linguists and language educators.

Finally there is a concern that has been raised in both ENL and ES(F)L worlds. It is that of international intelligibility in a situation where dissilimar norms may govern ELT in different parts of the world. The concern is genuine and the dangers of growing incomprehensibility are real in spite of the powerful counterbalancing effects that electronic media including the TV, educational satellites etc produce. It is also true however that in many cases the best answers to the problem lie in a major attitudinal change in both ENL and ES(F)L countries. They lie primarily in the educational systems' willingness and ability to prepare the student to understand and accept variation of different kinds in syntax, style or the strategies of discourse. Given tolerance and 'accommodation' (Sibayan 1985) on both sides, 'dialectal' differences need not become the barriers they are likely to become otherwise.

In looking at variation within English, Randolph Quirk and Garbriele Stein bring out two noteworthy facts: one, the "undoubted fact that English comes in many guises" (1990) and two, the (dis)approving labels that 'we' apply to them "depending on the breadth of our experience". They also make a reference to an important fact about the Chinese language which should serve international English equally, viz., that "one does not set out to learn 'Chinese' but a particular kind of Chinese - Mandarin or Cantonese, for example." Would it, one wonders, do much harm if the same became true of international English and at least some people in some parts of the English users' world had the choice to learn one or another variety of English (Indian, Nigerian, Singaporean, American, Australian) that best served their needs in defined contexts of situation? That certainly would be a way to realize David Crystal's vision of a world where many flowers would blossom in the English language's ever widening international garden. Richard Mulcaster's " English tung... of small reatch" which "... stretcheth no further than this Iland of ours, naie not there over all" (Mulcaster 1582, quoted in Quirk and Stein 1990) would then have proved itself to be an instrument of boundless reach and resource. With its long history of association with English and its limitless need to fashion this unique resource for human happiness and national development, the Indian sub-continent appears to be as good a place as any to work towards such a goal. The tasks are formidable and the challenges immense but so too are the rewards for the language's ever multiplying stakeholders.

Notes:

1. In his preface to the book Samuel Mathai refers to the "peculiarities in their (Indian users') usage" and advises them "to avoid those which may damage communication with other speakers of the language". The authors may or may not fully share this view but they too "prefer to avoid the use of the somewhat controversial term Indian English" stating that what they have attempted to record are peculiarities of use in the English of those who are likely to influence the Indian learner. Since for them this English showed a continuum from "clearly acceptable to clearly unacceptable", they thought it best to adopt a purely "descriptive attitude" to it.

2. A noteworthy aspect of GI (General Indian English) is that although it came into being mainly through the efforts of Bansal and his colleagues, it appears not to have had their approval as a suitable model for either teaching or research. It was not until 1977 that a research scholar working for his degree (See Dhar 1977) for the first time made use of this synthetic model as the basis for a contrastive analysis. For the author(s) of GI good speakers of English in India have to be judged by their degree of approximation to native English, in particular the British RP.

3. One main failure of recent attempts at language curriculum renewal has been not to base the reforms on a studied understanding of what an educational system can(not) work towards. Not unexpectedly the result has been a widening gap between stated aims and schoolroom realities. The pursuit of unattainable goals in Indian TEFL is clearly related to this failure to harmonize the means and ends.

4. A synthetic model is only partly a product of description. In its making it becomes necessary to incorporate features that make it more intelligible/acceptable. An example is Bansal's GI (FN 2 above) which is only partly based on descriptive studies of the use of English by educated Indians. The author added both phonetic and phonological features in order to bring what was called a regional accent closer to the national norm. A synthetic model of the grammar of IndE must follow the same approach in arriving at an acceptable norm-setting model.

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SECTION III

ENGLISH IN THE WORLD: ISSUES AND ATTITUDES

Randolph Quirk & the Issues of Standard English:

The Question Of Standrds In The International Use of English*

Language Varieties And Standard Language**

Braj B Kachru and the Case for World Englishes:

World Englishes And Applied Linguistics

Liberation Linguistics And The Quirk Concern

A note by Randolph Quirk

A response by Braj Kachru

Acknowledgements

* Reprinted from Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1987 (GURT '87), edited by Peter H. Lowenberg. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

**Reprinted from JALT Journal, Vol 11, No 1.

I THE QUESTION OF STANDARD IN THE INTERNATIONAL USE OF ENGLISH

Randolph Quirk

Most traditionally and endemically, language spread is caused and accompanied by population spread. Gujerati is spoken in England because groups of Gujerati - speaking immigrants have settled there. English is spoken in New Zealand because English - speaking immigrants settled there. I shall call this the 'demographic' model.

But language spread may reflect the spread of ideas without much population movement. This is how, centuries after the fall of Rome, Latin became the language of learning throughout Western and Northern Europe for more than a thousand years. There are analogies in the spread of Arabic as the vehicle of Islam (as distinct from its spread as the language of ethnic Arabs). There are analogies today in the spread of scientific information, computer technology, and indeed pop music, through the medium of English. Under this head too comes the spread of English in the conduct of multinational business in firms like Philips or Shell Petroleum. I shall call this the 'econocultural' model.

Third, language spread may reflect political domination with only sufficient population movement to sustain an administrative system and power structure. For example, German was used far and wide throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire in administering all or part of what is now Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Jugoslavia. (Only in 1868 were the Poles of Galicia allowed to use Polish as an official language or Amtsprache.) In ancient times, this was the model too for the thin but powerful spread of the administrative languages wielded by the Greek and subsequently by the Roman Empire. It is the pattern for the spread of English in much but not all of the British Empire: and still to be found (until 1997) in Hong Kong. This third type can appropriately be labelled the 'imperial' model, though it must be noted that we are using the notion of empire rather generically and abstractly, since this same model is evinced in the spread of Russian throughout the USSR, notably in the non-Slavonic republics.

I should like to look a little more closely at each of these three models in turn.

1. The demographic model. Now, although I studiously avoid in this label any implication of ethnicity, still less of nationality, we can never ignore the power of language as one of the prime bases of nationhood. Between 1800 and 1940, as Fishman (1982) reminds us, no fewer than three dozen new standard languages were recognized in Europe alone, resulting from the growth of nationalist

movements that in turn resulted in such 'new' polities as Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. From the intensity of nationalism beyond Europe, especially during the past thirty or forty years, came the recognition of analogous linguonational identities to be numbered not by the dozen but by the hundred.

Nonetheless, while nationhood realized through a single language is widely regarded as ideal ('Demographic Model A', let us call it), it appears to be rather rare in literal practice. Among major countries, perhaps Japan comes closest. More usually, we have the 'Demographic Model B', which results in multilingual nations--whether small, such as Switzerland and Singapore, or large, such as Indonesia, Nigeria, and the United States.

A less common product of demography-led language spread is the emergence of countries, politically separate but sharing a language. This 'Demographic Model C' includes examples as various as Arabic in Morocco, Egypt, Iraq, and elsewhere (cf. Ibrahim and Jernudd 1986); Chinese in China, Taiwan and Singapore; English in Britain, the United States, Australia; Spanish in Spain, Ecuador, and Chile (cf. Guitarte and Quintero 1974); Dutch in Holland and Belguim; French in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Here is where the nation-specific variety of a language presents itself most readily as the vehicle for the printed and electronic media, in government, and in education. But of course, the formulation of the nation-model, its institutionalisation, varies enormously between, say, Iraqi Arabic, American English, and British English at one extreme; in contrast with New Zealand English, Argentinian Spanish, Peruvian Spanish, etc; not to mention 'Belgian Dutch' or 'Swiss French', where resistance to recognising an indigenous standard is very strong. We note, too, the promotion of Pudonghua, not only in China but (as Mandarin) in Taiwan and Singapore (cf. Kuo 1985, Jernudd 1986).

Linguists would do well to study the kind of variation arising through Demographic Model C and the sociopolitical dynamic that promotes it. We cannot attribute the difference to size, power, or geograghical remoteness alone. These might seem to account for America's self-confidence in recognising an American English in contrast to New Zealand's relative modesty of linguistic independence. But there are counterexamples with Portuguese in vast, populous Brazil in contrast to what a few settlers in South Africa did in boldly evolving Afrikaans from their Cape Dutch. This last instance is perhaps of special interest: a new standard language appropriates the name of the country, thus seeming to expose other inhabitants -- black, brown, and pink -- as being immigrants, a policy neatly endorsed by referring to them with such labels as Bantu and English, the latter not just speaking English but <u>being</u> English, their language having its standard rooted not in the courts, churches, and classrooms of Johannesburg, but in London W1, as any listener to SABC is constantly reminded (cf. Lanham 1982). For the 'verkrampte', the only 'Africans' in South Africa are the Afrikaners, speaking Afrikaans.

2. The econocultural model. While the demography model is relevant in some degree to all languages, and among them the spread of English is no more remarkable than several others, the 'econocultural' model of language spread applies in our time more to English than to any other language. The only remotely relevant comparator in Western history is Latin: not Latin through imperial rule, but Latin introduced much later as the vehicle of religion, medicine, science, culture, and retained for a thousand unchallenged years. (Cf. Kahane and Kahane 1979, Kahane 1986.) Moreover, where the demography-led extension of English is in recent decades so modest as to be regarded as effectively in stasis, the extension of spread by econocultural motivation (appropriately called the 'expanding circle' by Kachru, cf. 1985c) has been almost exponential over the past forty years, and such growth seems set to continue for the rest of the millennium.[1] It constantly raises questions relating to standards -- questions in which, I suppose, everyone attending the present Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics has been involved. Oversimplifying, these questions concern two broad areas, the general (2.1) and the restricted (2.2).

2.1 The general area. In the general area, we are concerned mainly with the authorities responsible for setting standards in the education systems. Here, again oversimplifying, we have seen, and will doubtless continue to see, a shift in orientation from British English to American English. The political or regional labels retain their relevance for the very reason that we are primarily concerned with education systems which combine a language-teaching interest with what the Germans call a Landeskunde interest. But in my own experience, the issue that worries education ministers is not the choice between American and British standards but (1) what they detect as an increasing unwillingness or inability to identify standards in America or Britain, and (2) what they infer from the false extrapolation of English 'varieties' by some linguists. Thus in Japan last September, I was asked in Mombusho whether it was my view that Japanese learners were incapable of mastering English as expertly as Germans and Russians do and that therefore they should settle for the relaxed and clearly insulting goals of 'Japanese English', called by some foreign 'expert' advisers 'Japlish'. I was reminded of a seminar in Hachioji some eight years earlier when the same issue stimulated Clifford Prator to emerge in print again on the theme he had so forthrightly addressed in his 'heresy' paper (Prator 1978, cf. Prator 1968).

2.2 The restricted area. The other area of standards raised by the econocultural model I called 'restricted'. Here I seek to bring under one head such special uses of English as Soviet broadcasts to Third World countries, the English used in transnational corporations, the English used in the Asahi

Evening News, in service manuals for electronic equipment, in air navigation, and in such new communication systems as the Seaspeak devised by Strevens and his colleagues (cf Weeks et al. 1984). Of special interest here, and in my view of growing importance, is the irrelevance of a Landeskunde dimension. More than that: an American or British or Australian orientation is not just irrelevant, it is rightly felt to be undesirable. English for these purposes has to reflect not only what is going on in America and in Britain, but equally what is going on in Japan and the Soviet Union. English for these purposes has to be understood not only by Americans and Britons, but equally by English-speaking Japanese and Russians. In short, it is under this head that the motivation is strongest for the establishment of standards that are genuinely and usefully international (Cf Quirk and Stein, 1990).

3. The imperial model. Finally, I come to what I called the 'imperial' model of language spread, which shares with the econocultural one a lack of dependence on, or correlation with, population spread. This can be seen from the best-researched example of this model, India. The importance of English in India could not possibly be inferred from the statistics of those who use it: only about three percent of the population, even on a fairly liberal assessment (cf. Kachru 1986a, for example).[2] Numerous other languages in modern times have been spread by the imperial model (French is a particularly interesting example), but pressure of time restricts me to the discussion of English.

The working of the imperial model during the period of actual empire is clear enough. The Romans ran Britannia and Germania in Latin; the British ran Nigeria in English; the Germans ran Tanganyika in German. Local elites spoke the imperial language and became the more elite in so doing. When the Roman legions withdrew from Britannia and Germania, some place-names remained but, within a century, few other traces of Latin. When the Germans withdrew from Tanganyika in 1918, their linguistic footprints were obliterated with comparable rapidity and completeness. But counterexample: when the British legions withdrew from Lagos and Kaduna, did not English remain? To the extent that it is a counterexample (and as such, after all, it can be readily paralleled by French in nearby Côte d'Ivoire or Sénégal), there are several possible explanations. (1) English serves as an ethnically neutral link language between Ibo and Yoruba. (2) The British were in Nigeria longer than the Germans were in Tanganyika. (3) They evolved complex educational, administrative, and communicational structures--and, especially, they involved the indigenous population in running these systems. (4) English seems to the Nigerians to be a more useful language econoculturally in communication with the rest of the world than did German to the Tanganyikans (or Dutch to the Indonesians).

Such a range of possible explanations is not of mere academic interest, but of deep concern to the policymakers in Nigeria, to whom we, as linguists, must be ready to give competent advice. If a dispassionate needs analysis suggests that Nigeria's long-term interest in English is econocultural, like Japan's, then they need an international standard of English, and we have the problem of helping Nigeria to implement it and its consequences. If the needs analysis puts internal communication at the top of Nigeria's priority list, then we have a much bigger problem, for here alone is where the desirability and feasibility of a local standard arises, and its acquisition by a very large fraction of its population.

Now it is obviously controversial to call in question, as I have just appeared to do, 'the desirability and feasibility of a local standard' within the imperial model of linguistic spread. It may indeed seem to be flying in the face of established fact to question 'feasibility' when all of us here present have for years talked pretty freely of 'Nigerian English', 'West African English', 'South Asian English', 'Singaporean English',[3] hypostatising what remain at best rather general abstractions. What I believe to be a misleading, if not entirely false, analogy from designations like American English, or Iraqi Arabic, has of course been carried much further (as I have mentioned in connection with 'Japlish'), and the taxonomic implications are desperately different between 'computer English' (eg English Today 1.29), 'Queensland Kanaka English' (an area 'recently explored' in English World-Wide), 'Ashkenazic English' (Am. Sp. 60, 1985), 'Chicano English' and 'Anglo English' (both in Fernando Peñaloza 1980). As well as 'Black English', tout court, we have 'British Black English' (Ferguson and Heath 1981; Trudgill 1984). On the one hand, we can be told that the 'English of Quebec is a genre in its own right' (English Today 1.16); on the other, we can be invited (by Bokamba, in Kachru 1982: 78) to consider examples of what he calls 'African English' where little or no linguistic common ground is predicated, but only the anecdotal fact that all were written in Africa by black Africans. When, in his Foreword to Ferguson and Heath 1981, Hymes uses 'Indian English', it refers to North America and appears to cover the English used by, say, Cherokees in Oklahoma, Hopis in Arizona, Navahos in Utah, and it is not clear to me how far the designation seeks to capture linguistic features held in common.

But more usually, of course, 'Indian English' is applied, notably by Kachru, to the English used by the Indians of India, a variety, or set of varieties, or cline of varieties, more seriously studied than any other product of the imperial model of English spread. For Kachru, this is indeed part of a still broader variety which he calls 'South Asian English', in use, he says, by about 29 million people:[4] 'My use of the term South Asian English', he explains (Kachru 1982), 'is not to be understood as indicative of linguistic homogeneity in this variety nor of a uniform competence. It refers to several broad regional varieties such as Indian English, Lankan English, and Pakistani English.' But within the regional variety,

Indian English, he makes an equal disclaimer of 'homogeneity' and 'uniform competence.' In his recent book The Alchemy of English (and I cannot forbear to recall that the medieval alchemists never did manage to turn copper into gold), he notes that 'Indian English maintains varying degrees of Englishness which is graded from pidgin to educated Indian English'. The fact that a similar situation obtains in other nonnative varieties of English produces a cline within each to complicate the differences between each. 'On the cline of Englishness these may be low', he concedes, but they exist, they work, and they call for the replacement of 'pedagogical models' that have become 'suspect'. Indeed, 'The pragmatics of the uses of the English language can be understood only if a dynamic polymodel approach is adopted' (Kachru 1986a; cf also Kachru 1983, 1985a, b, and c, 1986b).

We have a vision of education systems confronting a complexity undreamed of in Germany or Japan, where there is unquestioning acceptance of an external (i.e. native) standard for the teaching of English. And I wonder how realistic the vision is. How likely is it that a minister of education in Delhi or Lagos will provide resources for teaching to a model derived from nonnative norms--especially any that could be characterized as low on the cline of Englishness? It is not encouraging to reflect that, although Kachru has been publishing on Indian English for 25 years -- prolifically, eloquently, elegantly -- there is still no grammar, dictionary, or phonological description for any of these nonnative norms that is, or could hope to become, recognized as authoritative in India, a description to which teacher and learner in India could turn for normative guidance, and from which pedagogical materials could be derived.

If, of course, a national needs analysis in India, or Nigeria, or Singapore convinced ministers of education and other government colleagues that resources should be found for the promotion of nonnative norms low on the cline of Englishness, we might be in a different ballgame. But I see little sign of this. I had the privilege of speaking with Mrs Indira Gandhi only a few weeks before her death. She was caustic on what she saw as the declining standards of English in India and was horrified at the idea of India establishing its own standard. Alan Maley (English Today 1.32, 1985) has reported how Mrs Gandhi summoned her Minister of Education to complain after failing to understand the English of a fellow Indian at an international conference. The Prime Minister of Singapore has made it just as abundantly clear that his interest in English is to provide 'direct access to the knowledge and technology of the industrialized West' (Speeches 1.9, 1978), and for him the 'slovenly' use of a 'Singapore dialect English' will not serve.

In short, whatever uncertainties we may feel about the standards of and the needs for English as an intranational language, residually fulfilling the role of English in imperial times, we know that English continues to be desirable for the purposes of international access. But this is my econocultural model of language

spread, and I believe it is as applicable in India, Singapore, and Nigeria as it is in Japan, Germany, and Russia. Indeed, this seems to be tacitly acknowledged in that those who speak of local norms always identify a desirable acrolectal one which bears a striking resemblance to the externally established norms of Standard English.

But, it may be objected, this is to ignore the distinction between English as a foreign language and English as a second language. I ignore it partly because I doubt its validity and frequently fail to understand its meaning. There is certainly no clear-cut distinction between ESL and EFL. Overtly, it is an instrumental distinction, but it is not applied to the highly instrumental use of English in (for example) air navigation; and in any case, is English used instrumentally and intranationally among Norwegians, Germans, Israelis less heavily than among Indians? And if so, is it more a difference of degree than of kind? Covertly, of course, the distinction has referred to the Commonwealth, and this is why India and Nigeria have been regarded as ESL countries but not Norway, Germany or Israel. In consequence, Strevens (1985) can refer in the same sentence to 'Educated West African', 'Educated Singaporean', and 'Educated Hong Kong' English--though on linguistic criteria English is surely a foreign language in Hong Kong, as it most certainly will be, institutionally, in ten years' time: probably far more so than in Malaysia, where the emphasis on promoting Bahasa with the New Economic Policy of 1970 entailed the official relegation of English from its 'second language' role.

Such changes do not apparently reduce the spread of English, but they change our perception of the English that is being spread, the purposes for which it is being spread, and the standards required in its spread. Moag's paper on the 'Life-cycle of non-native Englishes' (in Kachru 1982) contemplates the possibility of a contraction in the language spread that has proceeded from the imperial model, and this seems to me at least plausible. It is borne out in the same volume of papers edited by Kachru by the sobering reflections of Bokamba on English in Commonwealth Africa (cf. also Rogers 1982; Banjo 1985; Bailey 1990; Quirk 1990).

And this brings me back to the question of desirability of nonnative norms that I raised earlier (and have raised before: cf. Quirk 1983, 1985, 1986). If we accept with Kachru that the majority of India's 23 million English-users (or 28 million, according to his more recent estimate: Kachru 1987) have a norm that is low on the cline of Englishness; if we further assume success in the creation of a matching polymodel for pedagogical and other promotional purposes, who gains? There was a struggle in the United Nations about thirty years ago over a language policy for Papua New Guinea (Quirk 1972). Australia's policy was to institutionalize the native (pidgin) model because it seemed more democratic and because, after all, it was already there. In the UN this was condemned as neocolonialist, relegating an emergent people to a 'debased patois'.[5] Australia

went ahead and the territory achieved its independence with Tok Pisin as the language of parliament and administration. I was one who applauded the bold pragmatism. What I have heard and read in the past two or three years is less than reassuring. Tok Pisin is displaying gross internal instability and is being rejected in favour of an external model of English by those with power and influence (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986).

To sum up, we have looked at three models in terms of which human language may be spread. So far as English is concerned, it is to the econocultural model that we can attribute the remarkable degree of recent and current spread. As for countries affected by the imperial model, it is likely that a long-term demand for English will be related equally to econocultural factors, with consequences accordingly for the standards to be observed.

Notes

1. But it must not be exaggerated, as it sometimes is by enthusiasts for English who do damage alike to international relations and their own credibility as observers. In a recent lecture in Paris, John Honey raised eyebrows and hackles alike by predicting the replacement of French by English in France itself. Meanwhile, however, foreigners go on stubbornly using foreign languages and the losers are the Anglo-Saxons who stubbornly decline to learn them. It took NASA more than twenty years to learn of a vital ophthalmological discovery long familiar to German scientists who had read the work of Jörg Draeger (which was, of course, in German).

2. Nonetheless, the dissociation of the imperial model from demography in the present treatment may come as a surprise in view of some recent estimates of English users in the countries concerned. This is an area of linguistic crystal-gazing like that mentioned in relation to econocultural demand, where even the best-informed of colleagues have a tendency to go over the top. For Crystal (1985), 'There is a sense in which English is the language of most of the population of the sub-continent', and his table credits (for example) Pakistan with over 85 million, and India with a staggering 700 million speakers of English as a 'second language'.

3. In fact, such descriptions as exist suggest rather that this refers to common 'performance' features of the English attained by Chinese-speaking Singaporeans--rather than, say, the ethnic Indians of Singapore. This makes it difficult to distinguish in linguistic principle from the recognizable 'accent' remaining in the English learned by, say, Greeks or Germans.

4. Of which 23 million were estimated as being in India. Kachru has more recently put this Indian figure at 28 million (Kachru 1987), which entails his increasing South Asian English to at least 34 million. Kachru would accept of course that these numbers would include speakers of severely pidginized English (cf. Hymes 1971).

5. Cf., in a different context, Taylor (1985) pressing for better teaching of Standard English to speakers of 'Black English'.

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II LANGUAGE VARIETIES AND STANDARD LANGUAGE

Randolph Quirk

Abstract

This paper is based on a lecture delivered at the JALT conference in 1988. In it I argue that viewing learners' errors as evidence for the emergence of new varieties of the English language is dangerously mistaken, particularly where it leads to the abandonment of Standard English as a model for learners. I show how this view is mistaken by (a) citing recent British thinking on the relationship of varieties of English to the standard language and (b) presenting a taxonomy of varieties of English which distinguishes for example between ethnopolitical and linguistic labels for varieties. I go on to argue that to displace Standard English from the centre of attention is to deny learners access to the wider world of international communication.

A short time ago, the Department of Education and Science in London published a very important document on the teaching of English. On the teaching of English, that is to say, in Britain (Kingman, 1988). I would like to invite you to consider to what extent---if any---this report has relevance for the teaching of English *outside* Britain: specifically, in countries such as Japan and Germany, Senegal and India---countries where English is not a native language.

But first a word on the report in its own British context. Why did our Secretary of State, Mr Kenneth Baker, decide to set up a distinguished committee of inquiry on this subject? And distinguished it most certainly was: fifteen men and women comprising eminent writers like Antonia Byatt, P J Kavanagh, journalists like Keith Waterhouse, linguists like Henry Widdowson and Gillian Brown; educators like Brian Cox; and there was the broadcaster Robert Robinson, the Oxford professor of poetry Peter Levi, the research industrialist Charles Suckling, the whole committee presided over by the mathematician Sir John Kingman. They were brought together from their diverse fields because the Secretary of State and many others in Britain have been dissatisfied with the teaching of English in British schools: dissatisfied with *what* is taught, *how* it is taught, and *the results* of the teaching as they show in the capabilities of school leavers.

The conclusions of the Kingman Committee strike most people as wholly sensible. It is the duty of British schools, says the report, "to enable children to acquire Standard English, which is their right" (p. 14)---a statement which may

seem so obvious and unsurprising that the only *surprise* is why it needs to be stated. The very first page of the report explains: the committee found that teachers were distracted by the belief that children's capacity to use English effectively "can and should be fostered only by exposure to varieties of the English language". It is not of course that the committee deny the interest and importance of the variation within English---still less that such variation exists. They would agree, I am sure, that our ability to vary our language according to our social and regional backgrounds, our professional careers, and indeed our creative urges as individuals, is at the very heart of the gift that human language bestows. And this has been made clear in the final report of the follow-up working party chaired by Brian Cox (Cox, 1989). No, what they are saying is that the interest in varieties of English has got out of hand and has started blinding both teachers and taught to the central linguistic structure from which the varieties might be seen as varying.

This may well be true, but I think there is a more serious issue that I would like to address, and that is the profusion and (I believe) *confusion* of *types* of linguistic variety that are freely referred to in educational, linguistic, sociolinguistic, and literary critical discussion. Let me give some recent examples where the word *English* is preceded by an adjective or noun to designate a specific "variety":

American English
Legal English
Working-class English
Computer English
BBC English
Black English
South Asian English
Queensland Kanaka English
Liturgical English
Ashkenazic English
Scientific English
Chicago English
Chicano English

Some of these you'll have come across, others you may not, but it will take only a moment's reflection to convince you that---whether familiar or not--- these varieties are on desperately different taxonomic bases. For example, *legal English* refers to a style that may be used equally (and perhaps indistinguishably) in American English and British English. *Ashkenazic English* is a term which has been used to characterize the usage of Ashkenazi Jews in the United States, but whether it holds for Ashkenazim living in Britain or Australia or indeed Israel, I don't know. When Braj Kachru (1982) talks about *South Asian English*, he is referring to audible similarities in the way Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans speak English; but when E G Bokamba (1982) refers to *African English*, he seems not to be claiming linguistic similarities but only the common ground that the work so labelled was written in Africa by black Africans. Fernando Peñalosa (1980) applies the term *Chicano English* to the English used

by those of Mexican Spanish origin in the U.S.A and he contrasts it with *Anglo English*---not presumably a synonym for *American English* since it would doubtless exclude both the English of black Americans and perhaps equally the *Anglo English* of Britain. When Dell Hymes (1981) uses *Indian English*, it refers to the English not of India as Kachru uses it but to the English of Amerindians of whatever group in North America: Cherokees in Oklahoma, Hopis in Arizona, Navahos in Utah, and it is not clear to me whether the designation seeks to capture linguistic features held in common by such dispersed fragments of different groups from among the pre-European inhabitants.

In the preface to her recent study, *Norms of Language* (1987), Renate Bartsch says "I have written this book in...the German variety of English" (of which my wife, herself a German and a professor of linguistics in Heidelberg, was previously unaware, but which Professor Bartsch says is "a version of one of the many varieties of the supervariety International English").

Let me try to find a path through this maze of varieties and supervarieties by attempting a taxonomy (see Figure 1).

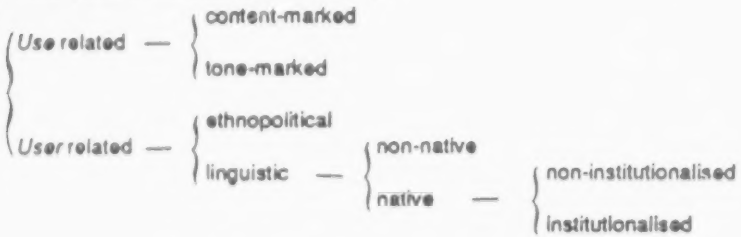

Figure 1. A Taxonomy of Varieties of English

The first distinction we need to make is between those varieties that are *use*-related and those that are *user*-related. The former concerns varieties that an individual assumes along with a relevant role: and a given individual may have a mastery of several such varieties. A woman who is a lawyer must express herself in *legal English* in drafting an agreement, in *tennis English* when she confesses that her friend beat her "in straight sets"; she may write articles for the Sunday Times in *literary English*, and her word-processor makes her feel the need to master a little *computer English*. (See further, Quirk and Stein, 1990, Chapter Four)

From such *use*-related varieties, we distinguish *user*-related varieties, where in general an individual is tied to one only: Americans, for example, express themselves only in *American English*, the British only in *British English*---and they sound phony if they try to switch between varieties. But two lawyers corresponding on a case across the Atlantic both switch into *legal English*, however much each colours his or her legal English with the user-related American or British variety of the language.

Within the user-related varieties, however, we must distinguish between varieties identified on ethnopolitical grounds and those identified on linguistic grounds. Only thus can I make sense of Bokamba's *African English* or Peñalosa's *Anglo English* or Dell Hymes's sense of *Indian English* (all of which seem to be concerned with ethnopolitical statements---in contrast with Kachru's sense of *Indian English* which plainly has a linguistic basis.)

This is an important distinction and it is one that should be confronted by those who speak about *Taiwanese English* and *Hong Kong English,* for example, since on linguistic grounds there are similarities that relate not to the political labels *Hong Kong* and *Taiwanese* but to the Chinese that is spoken in both areas. The distinction also reveals the ambiguity in the term *Chinese English* itself: English as used in the People's Republic *or* features of English influenced by a Chinese L1 (whether in China, Taiwan, Singapore, or Malaysia). One must seek analogous clarification about the variety called *Black English*: if it covers all the blacks in North America, any linguistic basis becomes rather broad; and if it is extended to include the English of blacks in Britain, a linguistic basis becomes almost incredible---especially since the term *Black* is assumed not only by Britons of Afro-Caribbean origin but equally by many who are of Pakistani and Indian origin as well.

Keeping to the linguistic branch from this node, we face another distinction: that between non-native varieties of English and native varieties, the former including long-recognised types like *Indian English* (in Kachru's sense), *Nigerian English, East African English,* and presumably "the German variety of English" in which Renate Bartsch says she wrote *Norms of Language.* Just as presumably, they include what I called ten years ago the *performance varieties* (cf. Quirk, 1981) by means of which one can sometimes recognise the ethnic background of a person by his or her English: *Russian English, French English, Japanese English.* The problem with varieties in this branch is that they are inherently unstable, ranged along a qualitative cline, with each speaker seeking to move to a point where the varietal characteristics reach vanishing point, and where thus, ironically, each variety is best manifest in those who by commonsense measures speak it worst. (cf. Quirk, 1988).

The other branch from this node is the native varieties---*American English, Australian English, British English, New Zealand English, South African English, New England English, Yorkshire English,* and so on. And within these we make our final distinction: between *non-institutionalised* varieties and those varieties that are *institutionalised* in the sense of being fully described and with defined standards observed by the institutions of state. Of the latter, there are two: *American English* and *British English*; and there are one or two others with standards rather informally established, notably *Australian English*. But most native varieties are not institutionalised and while sharing a notable stability as compared with non-native varieties, they resemble these to a slight extent in

being on a socioeconomic cline, such that the features marking an individual as being a speaker of Yorkshire English or New York English tend to disappear the higher up the socioeconomic scale he or she happens to be.

Now, of all the distinctions I've made, the one that seems to be of the greatest importance educationally and linguistically is that between native and non-native: it is the distinction that is probably also the most controversial. Indeed, I have made it the more controversial by implicitly excluding from the non-native branch a node which permits the *institutionalised-non-institutionalised* distinction to apply to them. I exclude the possibility only because I am not aware of there being any institutionalised non-native varieties, a point to which I shall return later. Let me just refer, however, to some recent psycholinguistic work by René Coppieters (1987) which strikingly underscores the *native/non-native* distinction. Coppieters worked with a group of about twenty native speakers of French and with a similar-sized group of non-native speakers---all of whom with a high level of performance, all of them resident in France for at least five years and using French as their working language. Indeed the mean residence level was 17 years and many of the group were believed by French people to be native speakers.

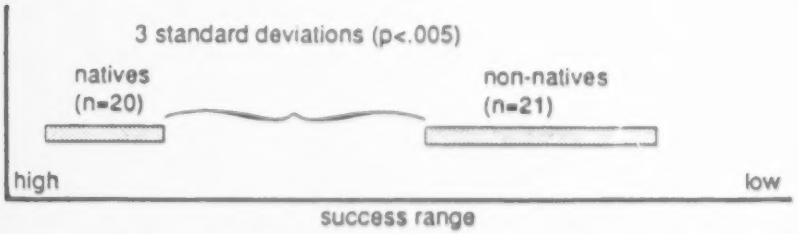

Figure 2. Native and non-native speakers' competence

Yet in a range of interesting and sophisticated elicitation tests, the success rate of the non-natives fell not merely *below* but *outside* the range of native success to a statistically significant degree ($p < .005$); see Figure 2. For example, in judging and exploring the semantics of paired sentences involving the imperfect tense and the passé composé, what we may call the 'failure' rate of the natives was 2%, that of the non-natives 41.5%. For example:

Il a soupçonné quelque chose, j'en suis sûr.
Il soupçonnait quelque chose, j'en suis sûr.

The difference in the sets of scores was reflected in the comments by the non-natives. Though they always managed to understand and make themselves understood fairly well through the linguistic and situational context, they said

repeatedly that they had developed no intuitions about the distinction between the imperfect and the passé composé: and two who said just this had worked in important professional positions in France for 15 and 21 years respectively.[1]

The implications for foreign language teaching are clear: the need for native teacher support and the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language. And since the research suggests that natives have radically different internalisations, the implications for attempting the institutionalisation of non-native varieties of any language are too obvious for me to mention.

Instead, let me return to the broader issue of language varieties as it concerned the Kingman Committee, since they saw this as bound up with uncertain attitudes to *standards*, noting that some teachers of English believed "that any notion of correct or incorrect use of language is an affront to personal liberty".

It would take me too far from the subject of this lecture to examine why so many teachers should have turned away from concentrating on Standard English, from criticising a student's poor usage as incorrect, and should have preferred to explore the variety of language that students bring to their classrooms from very different social and regional backgrounds. Suffice it to say that the reasons have been idealistic, humanitarian, democratic and highly reputable, reasons which honourably motivated student teachers. And why not, indeed? If recent history has given us a "liberation theology", why not also a "liberation linguistics"? The trouble, as the Kingman Committee sees it, is that such an educational fashion went too far, grossly undervaluing the baby of Standard English while *over*valuing the undoubtedly important bathwater of regional, social and ethnic varieties: giving the impression that any kind of English was as good as any other, and that in denying this, nothing less was at stake than "personal liberty" itself. By contrast, the Kingman Report sees such an educational ethos as trapping students in their present social and ethnic sectors and as creating a barrier to their educational progress, their career prospects, their social and geographical mobility. Command of Standard English, says the Report, so far from inhibiting personal freedom, "is more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it" (Kingman, 1988, p 3).

Let me now turn from the fairly parochial issue of teaching English in Britain to the teaching of English in non-English speaking countries---where overwhelmingly greater numbers of students are involved. Most of the Kingman Report should surely have no bearing upon *them*. Since students in the Soviet Union or Japan bring little English of their own to the classroom, there can be no question of the teacher performing his or her task by merely exposing them to the "varieties of English language" around them. They come to learn a totally unfamiliar language, so there can be no question of the teacher rejecting the "notion of correct or incorrect" use of English. And all the students know

perfectly well that, as Kingman says, their command of Standard English is likely to increase their freedom and their career prospects. So of course they---teachers and taught alike---accept the basic conclusion that it is the institution's duty to teach Standard English.

At any rate, that is what one would *expect* to be the position with teaching English as a foreign language, and it is the position that is assumed by most foreign ministries of education and by most foreign students---and their parents.

But the contrast between teaching English to English boys and girls in Leeds and teaching English to Japanese boys and girls in Kobe is not as neat and absolute as I have made it seem. Some schools in London and New York, for instance, have so many pupils from a non-English speaking background that the techniques and approaches of teaching English as a foreign language have to be adopted---in precisely the same schools and often by the same teachers as those where the ideals of what I've called "liberation linguistics" are still enthusiastically served up, however much they are just stale leftovers from the 1960s.

Let me give you a New York example. A well-respected educationist wrote an article a year or so ago on the teaching of English to the many thousands of New York children who come from Spanish-speaking homes (Goldstein, 1987). These children, she said, identify far more with the black children in the streets around them than with white children, and for that reason the English they should be taught is not Standard English but what she calls Black English. This is the English that will help them to relate to their peers outside the classroom; and after all, she pointed out, a sentence like "I don't have none" shows "a correct use of Black English negation"(p 432). Now, that article was published in one of the best known international journals, read by teachers of English not only in the United States but in Italy, Greece, China, and Japan---by the most professionally-minded, in fact, of English language teachers throughout the world. The context in which the article was *written* of course is clear enough, but what about attempts to adapt its message in the very different contexts in which it is *read*?

We must not forget that many Japanese teachers, Malaysian teachers, Indian teachers have done postgraduate training in Britain and the United States, eager to absorb what they felt were the latest ideas in English teaching. Where better, after all, to get the latest ideas on this than in the leading English-speaking countries? The interest in "varieties of English language", called in question on the first page of the Kingman report, has in fact been widely stimulated, as we know from university theses being written in a whole host of countries: with titles like *Malaysian English, Filipino English, Hong Kong English, Nigerian English, Indian English.*

The countries last mentioned here, of course, are chiefly those where English has had an *internal* role over a long period for historical reasons. English was indeed the language used by men like Gandhi and Nehru in the movement to liberate India from the British raj and it is not surprising that "liberation linguistics" should have a very special place in relation to such countries. Put at its simplest, the argument is this: many Indians speak English; one can often guess that a person is Indian from the way he or she speaks English; India is a free and independent country as Britain is or as America is. Therefore, just as there is an *American English* (as recorded, for example, in the Webster Collegiate Dictionary), and a *British English* (as recorded, for example, in the Concise Oxford), so there is an *Indian English* on precisely the same equal footing (and of course a *Nigerian English*, a *Ghanaian English, a Singaporean English, a Filipino English*, etc).

No one would quarrel with any of this provided there was agreement within each such country that it was *true*, or even that there was a determined policy to make it true. So far as I can see, neither of these conditions obtains, and most of those with authority in education and the media in these countries tend to protest that the so-called national variety of English is an attempt to justify inability to acquire what they persist in seeing as 'real' English. A colleague of mine who this year spent some time working in Kenya told me in a letter: "There is heated debate here as to whether there is such a thing as 'East African English' or whether the local variety is just the result of the increasing failure of the education system." In his book on English in Nigeria, O Kujore (1985) says that although earlier observers have talked freely of *Standard Nigerian English*, the fact is "that any such standard is, at best, in process of evolution".[2] It is reported that, not long before her death, Mrs Indira Gandhi returned rather angry from an international conference---angry because she had been unable to understand the English used there by a fellow-Indian delegate. She demanded that her Ministry of Education do something about standards of English. Within India itself, the status of *Indian English* is the more difficult to establish in that, among the few organisations using the term officially, the Indian Academy of Literature applies it in a purely ethnopolitical sense to literary work in English written by ethnic Indians.

No one should underestimate the problem of teaching English in such countries as India and Nigeria, where the English of the teachers themselves inevitably bears the stamp of locally acquired deviation from the standard language ("You are knowing my father, isn't it?"). The temptation is great to accept the situation and even to justify it in euphemistically sociolinguistic terms. A few months ago, discussing these matters in the Philippines, I heard a British educational consultant who had worked for a year or so in Manila tell Filipino teachers that there was no reason for them to correct the English of their students if it seemed comprehensible to other Filipinos. Whether the listening

teachers felt relieved or insulted I don't know, but of one thing I was sure: the advice was bad. Filipinos, like Indians, Nigerians, Malaysians, are learning English not just to speak with their own country folk but to link themselves with the wider English-using community throughout the world. It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best, and it is a travesty of liberalism to tolerate low standards which will lock the least fortunate into the least rewarding careers.

When we turn from the special problems of countries like India and the Philippines to countries like Spain and Japan which have little or no legacy of localised English on the streets, in offices, or in markets, we would surely expect to find no such conflicts about teaching Standard English. And so it is for the most part, no doubt. But not entirely. Ill-considered reflexes of liberation linguistics and a preoccupation with what the Kingman Report calls 'exposure to varieties of English language' intrude even here. And this in two respects.

First, the buoyant demand for native-speaking English teachers means that one occasionally finds, in Tokyo or Madrid, young men and women teaching English with only a minimal teacher training, indeed with little specialised education: they're employed because, through accident of birth in Leeds or Los Angeles, they are native speakers of English. Not merely may their own English be far from standard but they may have little respect for it and may well have absorbed (at second or third hand) the linguistic ethos that is simplified into the tenet that any English is as good as any other.

One such young Englishman approached me after a lecture I'd given in Madrid a few months ago. Why, he asked, had I distinguished between the nouns *message* and *information* as countable and uncountable? His students often wrote phrases like *several informations* and since he understood what was meant, how could they be wrong? In some wonderment that I was actually talking to a British teacher of English, I gently explained about Standard English being the norm by which we taught and made judgments. He flatly disagreed and went on to claim that he could not bring himself to correct a Spanish pupil for using a form that had currency in an English dialect---*any* English dialect. "She catched a cold" is as good as "She caught a cold", he ended triumphantly and strode away.

Let's hope that such half-baked quackery is rare because the *other* respect in which 'exposure to varieties' is ill-used is not all that rare, I fear. This is where academic linguists from Britain or America, sometimes with little experience of foreign language teaching, are invited to advise on teaching English abroad. If by training or personal interest they share the language ethos that the Kingman Report criticises, their advice---merely a bit controversial in its original British or American educational context---is likely to be flagrantly misleading when exported with minimal adaptation to, say, Japan. Indeed, it can even happen with consultants who have years of hands-on ELT experience.

An example. A year or so ago, the Japan Association of Language Teachers invited a British educationist to address their annual convention. I learned about this from a worried Japanese official who drew my attention to the text of this British expert's address published in Tokyo.[3] It warned teachers not to make "overly hasty judgements about the language performance of learners", and particular emphasis was given by the expert to the following statement: "Language behaviour which at first sight appears to be flawed may in fact be a manifestation of a new---though as yet unrecognised---variety of English." (Coleman, 1987, p. 13)

The implications of this, if hard-working Japanese teachers took him seriously, are quite horrendous. Students, 'liberally' permitted to think their 'new variety' of English was acceptable, would be defenceless before the harsher but more realistic judgment of those with authority to employ or promote them. They have in effect been denied the command of Standard English which, to quote the Kingman Report yet again, "is more likely to increase the freedom of the individual than diminish it" (p 3).

Certainly, if I were a foreign student paying good money in Tokyo or Madrid to be taught English, I would feel cheated by such a tolerant pluralism. My goal would be to acquire English precisely because of its power as an instrument of international communication. I would be annoyed at the equivocation over English since it seemed to be unparalleled in the teaching of French, German, Russian, or Chinese.

I would be particularly annoyed at irrelevant emphasis on the different varieties of English when I came to realise they mattered so little to native speakers of English---to those who effortlessly read the novels of Saul Bellow, Iris Murdoch, and Patrick White, perceiving no linguistic frontier to match the passports (American, British and Australian) of these writers. And when I came to realise that the best grammars and dictionaries similarly related to a Standard English that was freely current throughout the world.

Indeed, the widespread approval of the Kingman Report confirms that the mass of ordinary native-English speakers have never lost their respect for Standard English, and it needs to be understood abroad too (cf Hao, 1988; Yashiro, 1988) that Standard English is alive and well, its existence and its value alike clearly recognised. This needs to be understood in foreign capitals, by education ministries, and media authorities: and understood too by those from the UK and the U.S.A who teach English abroad.

Of course, it is not easy to eradicate once-fashionable educational theories, but the effort is worthwhile for those of us who believe that the world needs an international language and that English is the best candidate at present on offer. Moreover, the need to make the effort is something for which we must bear a certain responsibility---and in which we have a certain interest.

Notes

. It would be interesting to see similar controlled experiments for English with such pairs as "The spacecraft is now 1000 km from [± the] earth", "She [± has] lived there for three years."

2. Similar doubts about Filipino English have recently been expressed in *English Today* (16, 1988) and they confirm my own observations in Manila.

3. I was also asked about the *Four Seasons Composition Book* (Pereira and O'Reilley, 1988) in which Japanese students are told that "if you can make yourself understood...that is good enough" since their attempts constitute "a respectable variety of English".

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WORLD ENGLISHES AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Braj B. Kachru

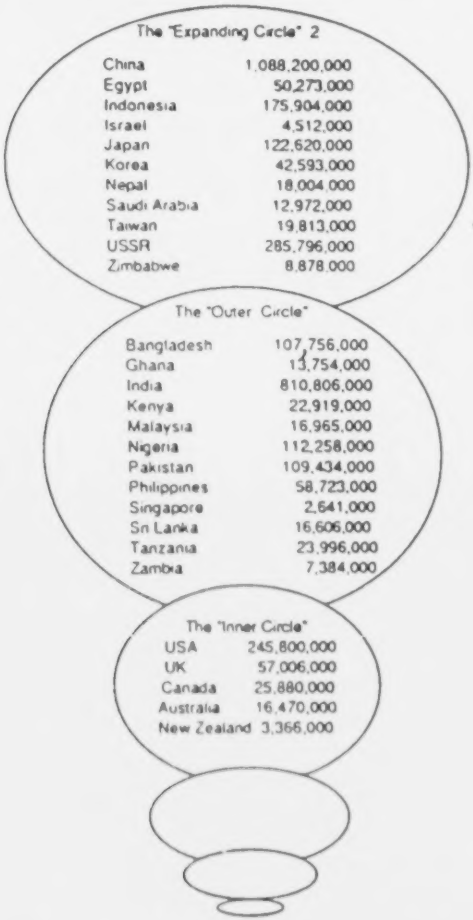
Abstract:

This paper addresses the issue of the relationship between world Englishes (WE) and applied linguistics. The diffusion of English is seen in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle (L1 varieties, e.g. the USA, United Kingdom), the Outer Circle (ESL varieties), and the Expanding Circle (EFL varieties). The discussion is essentially restricted to the Outer Circle in which the institutionalized non-native varieties of English are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts. The discussion is about four major issues: theoretical, applied, societal and ideological, and focuses specifically on (a) attitudes concerning the ontological status of the varieties of English; (b) generalizations about the creative strategies used for learning English in multilingual/multicultural contexts; (c) descriptions of the pragmatic and interactional contexts of WEs and their implications; (d) assumptions concerning multi-cultural identities of WEs; (e) assumptions about the role of English in initiating ideological and social change; and (f) assumptions about communicative competence in English. The paper is divided into the following sections: ontological issues; conflict between idealization and reality; acquisition and creativity; the 'leaking paradigms'; cultural content of English; ideological change; where applied linguistics fails the Outer Circle of English; and types of fallacies about WEs. This study does not view applied linguistics as divorced from social concerns: the concerns of relevance to the society in which we live. This view, then, entails social responsibility and accountability for research in applied linguistics.

Introduction[1]

The choice of world Englishes as the starting point of this paper calls for two types of explanations. One, that of terminology: why 'world Englishes', and not just world 'English'? Second, that of justification of relationship: why choose world Englishes to address the issues related to applied linguistics? There is no simple or short answer to the first question. An answer to this question, as we know, entails more than pure linguistic issues, the issues of attitude, and additionally several extralinguistic factors. During the last two decades a reasonable body of research has been done to provide answers to this question.

(For bibliographic references see Kachru 1985 and 1986a.) What I would like to attempt in this paper, therefore, is to provide a perspective for the second question, that of the justification of the relationship between world Englishes and applied linguistics, a perspective which is essentially that of the user of English who belongs to the Outer Circle of English out of the three concentric circles outlined below. Note that South Africa (pop. 29,628,000) and Jamaica (pop. 2,407,000) are not listed. The reason is the sociolinguistic complexity of these two countries in terms of their English-using populations and the functions of English. (See Kachru 1985: 12-14.)



It seems to me that this perspective not only defines my approach to our understanding of the global spread of English, but to some extent it also defines the goals which I set for the field of applied linguistics.

The relationship between world Englishes and applied linguistics as a field of research and inquiry is motivated by several types of issues: theoretical and applied, as well as societal and ideological.

I will start with what I consider the theoretical issues. Since the 1950s there has been intense activity in the linguistic sciences for analysis and description of two main varieties of the English language, American and British. Extensive data banks have been established on English at the centers of research at the universities of Birmingham, Brown, London, and Lund, to name just four. And such data banks are also being developed in Asia and Africa (see e.g. Greenbaum 1989 and Shastri 1985). The largest number of applied linguists in various parts of the world are working in ESL/EFL related contexts. And, at some places, the term 'applied linguistics' is often wrongly equated with the teaching of ESL/EFL.

The research on second language acquisition, first language acquisition, and different aspects of sociolinguistics has primarily focused on English. Additionally the interdisciplinary fields of stylistics, and bilingual and monolingual lexicography have also concentrated on English. The major insights gained in the theory of translation are derived from the translation of texts of English into other languages of the world, and of those languages into English. Generalizations about natural languages, their structural characteristics, and the possible categories of language universals usually begin with analyses of and examples from English. In short, what we see, linguistically and sociolinguistically speaking, is that the field of linguistics and its applications are closely linked to one major language of our time, English. And almost the total spectrum of applied linguistic research, its strengths and limitations, can be demonstrated with reference to this language. One might, then, say that the last four decades have been the decades of English.

Moreover, English has acquired unprecedented sociological and ideological dimensions. It is now well-recognized that in linguistic history no language has touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige, as has the English language since the 1930s. And, equally important, across cultures English has been successful in creating a class of people who have greater intellectual power in multiple spheres of language use unsurpassed by any single language before; not by Sanskrit during its heyday, not by Latin during its grip on Europe, and not by French during the peak of the colonial period.

The reasons for the diffusion and penetration of English are complex, and these have been extensively discussed in earlier literature.[3] However, one dimension of the diffusion of English is especially important to us, particularly

those of us who represent the developing world, who are directly influenced by the research in applied linguistics, and who are considered the main beneficiaries of the insights gained by such research. Again, it is the developing world in which the English language has become one of the most vital tools of ideological and social change, and at the same time an object of intense controversy.

It is this developing world which forms an important component of the three Concentric Circles of English: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. These three circles, as has repeatedly been mentioned in the literature, bring to the English language (and, of course, to its literature, too) a unique cultural pluralism, and a variety of speech fellowships. These three circles certainly bring to English linguistic diversity; and let us not underestimate - as some scholars tend to do - the resultant cultural diversity. One is tempted to say, as does Tom McArthur (1987), that the three Circles of English have resulted in several English 'languages'. True, the purist pundits find this position unacceptable, but that actually is now the linguistic reality of the English language.

The world Englishes are the result of these diverse sociocultural contexts and diverse uses of the language in culturally distinct international contexts. As a result, numerous questions and concerns come to the forefront. Applied linguists, primarily of the Inner Circle, have articulated their positions about these concerns; they have interpreted various contexts of the uses of English, and they have provided research paradigms and methodologies.

The range of aspects of applied linguistics such scholars have covered in their paradigms is wide, e.g., sociolinguistics, stylistics, language teaching, the acquisition of English as an additional language, and so on. The impact of such research has been significant; it has raised daunting questions which have never been raised before, particularly concerning the standards, models, and diversification in English, concerning the functions of English in the Outer Circle, concerning the functional power of English, and concerning the social issues and-if I may add-the responsibility of applied linguists (see e.g. Quirk & Widdowson [eds.] 1985, Kachru and Smith 1986, and Lowenberg [ed.] 1988).

And here, two things need stressing: the terms 'applied linguistics' and 'social concern'. The dichotomy between 'theoretical' and 'applied' linguistics is essentially one of difference in focus rather than of distinct identities. Charles Ferguson and Michael Halliday have repeatedly warned us that the separation of the two (pure vs. applied) is not very meaningful. However, applied linguistics, in whatever manifestation, is essentially an area which reveals certain concerns and certain responsibilities. And the term 'social concern' brings in another dimension, though an extralinguistic one.

I believe that 'social concern' refers to the responsibility of a discipline toward relevant social issues, and application of an appropriate body of knowledge to seek answers to such issues. The term 'social issues' naturally

opens a Pandora's box: what is a social issue? And, how can a profession be evaluated on its response to such issues? These are, of course, controversial questions, and as Bolinger (1973: 539) rightly says, the answers to these questions have to be rediscovered by each generation. However, now and then, a profession must address these questions as an exercise in evaluation of the field and its direction. It is true that in the USA during the 1940s and 1950s we passed through a long phase 'across the semantic desert'. There was a feeling that 'life had lost all meaning, except perhaps differential meaning' (Bolinger 1973: 540). We had stopped asking questions concerning 'meaning' and responsibility. And, thankfully, even in the USA, that phase is over now. During the last two decades, serious questions have been asked: questions about the evaluation of the field, about the linguists' responsibilities, and about the goals and areas of applied linguistics (see e.g. Labov, particularly 1982 cited in Trudgill 1984; Lakoff 1975).

However, a caveat is in order here: whenever such questions are asked they are naturally concerned with issues related to the USA or the United Kingdom. Very rarely have questions of concern, of responsibility, and of linguistic pragmatism been raised with reference to world Englishes. In other words, to quote Bolinger (1973: 540) again, 'the linguist up to very recently has been a more or less useful sideliner, but not a social critic'. And, so far as world Englishes in the Outer Circle are concerned, that role of the linguist still persists.

2.0 Major issues of concern

Now, I do not propose to take up the role of a social critic here. What I propose to do is to select some of the issues related to world Englishes and applied research, and share with you my concerns about such research. I will, of course, not go into all the issues and their ramifications. I will merely present a commentary on the following issues which I consider vital for our understanding of English in its world context: (a) attitudes concerning the ontological status of the varieties of English; (b) generalizations about the creative strategies used for learning English as an additional language in multilingual and multicultural contexts; (c) descriptions of the pragmatic and interactional contexts of world Englishes, and their relevance to pragmatic success and failure; (d) assumptions about the cultural content of the varieties of English and the role of such varieties as the vehicles of the Judeo-Christian (or, broadly, Western) traditions; (e) assumptions about the role of English in initiating ideological and social changes; and (f) assumptions about communicative competence in English and the relevant interlocutors in such communicative contexts.

I shall discuss these points one by one in the following sections. But before I do that, I must briefly discuss the current dominant and less dominant approaches to world Englishes to provide a theoretical perspective for the

discussion. In recent years the following approaches have been used to study world Englishes: (1) the deficit approach; (2) the deviational approach; (3) the contextualizational approach; (4) the variational approach; and (5) the interactional approach.

However, out of these five approaches it is the first two (the deficit and the deviational approaches) that have dominated the field. And, it is these two approaches which, I believe, are the least insightful. The following comments are thus a critique primarily of these two approaches, and the attitudes that such approaches reflect.

2.1 Ontological issues: Conflict between idealization and reality

The initial question takes us to the core of the problem, the issues of attitudes and identity. The attitudes toward a variety of English are only partially determined by linguistic considerations. The other considerations are of assigning a place and a status to the user of the other variety, or marking the distance of a person in the social network. We see two major positions concerning the varieties of English in the Outer Circle: one, the **nativist monomodel** position; and second, the **functional polymodel** position.

The first position, perhaps in an extreme form, is well-articulated in two paradigm papers, one by Clifford Prator (1968) and the other by Randolph Quirk (1988). These two studies were presented almost a generation apart. The Prator study was originally presented in 1966. Quirk presented his views first at the 1987 Georgetown University Round Table devoted to language spread (see also Quirk 1988 and 1989).

The functional polymodel position entails the use of theoretical and methodological frameworks which relate the formal and functional characteristics of English in the Outer Circle to appropriate sociolinguistic and interactional contexts. I have presented this position since the 1960s, and over a period of time many studies have been written following this approach, at various centers. (For bibliographical references see Kachru 1986a).

The Quirk papers, representing the first position, deserve special attention for several reasons: these papers are written by one of the most venerable and intellectually influential scholars of the English language during our time, and his papers take us back to some of the fundamental questions which concern all who are working in the areas of applied linguistics. Furthermore, the papers reopen some questions, which some of us believed had been put to rest during the past rather productive years of research on world Englishes.

The main points of what I have called 'the Quirk concerns' may be summarized as follows. Quirk sees language spread primarily with reference to three models: the **demographic**, the **econo-cultural**, and the **imperial**. The demographic model implies language spread with accompanying population

spread. The econo-cultural model suggests language spread without a serious population spread, essentially for scientific, technological and cultural information. The imperial model applies to language spread as the result of political (colonial) domination.

The demographic model has resulted in several varieties of English in the Inner Circle (e.g. American, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand). The econo-cultural and imperial models have, over a period of time, resulted in the endocentric varieties of English in Africa, Asia, and the Philippines (see e.g. Bailey and Gorlach 1982, Kachru 1982 and 1986a, Platt et al. 1984, and Pride 1982).

However, Quirk's concerns are about the endocentric models in the Outer Circle and their implications for pedagogy, the international currency of English, and generally, the good linguistic health of the English language. These concerns raise a number of questions relevant to serious practitioners of applied linguistics. Consider, for example, the following: (a) Do the Outer Circle varieties of English, primarily second language varieties, have an ontological status - that is, sociolinguistically speaking? (b) What are the needs-analyses for the uses of English in the Outer Circle: econo-cultural or intranational? (c) What is the relevance of various types of ontological labels used for the varieties of English in the Outer Circle? (d) What is the relationship between the sociolinguistic identity of a variety of English, and the available descriptions of the variety at various linguistic levels?, and (e) What is the formal and functional relevance of distinctions such as ESL and EFL?

Quirk, in his usual elegant way, has not only raised these questions for the profession to ponder, but he has also brought into the open a concern which is shared by several scholars.

In brief, his position on the above five questions is as follows. Quirk rejects the sociolinguistic identity of the varieties of English in the Outer Circle and considers the recognition of such identity as '... the false extrapolation of English "varieties" by some linguists', (1988: 232). He sees the international needs of English essentially as econo-cultural ('the econo-cultural model of language spread applied in our times more to English than to any other language', 1988: 231). He rejects the use of identificational terms such as 'Nigerian English', 'West African English', 'South Asian English', 'Singapore English', and characterizes them as '... misleading, if not entirely false...' (1988: 234); he does not believe that the varieties of English are adequately described at various linguistic levels and, therefore, these cannot be used as pedagogically acceptable (or ontologically recognizable) models. And finally, he rejects the generally recognized dichotomy between ESL and EFL ('I ignore it partly because I doubt its validity and frequently fail to understand its meaning' (1988: 236).

In other words, for Quirk, among the English users of the world there is another kind of dichotomy: one between **us** (the Inner Circle) and **them** (the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle). This dichotomy has serious sociolinguistic and attitudinal implications: one being that the power to define the other group is with **us** and not with **them**. This is an interesting way of making a distinction between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' members of English-using speech fellowships. I am not saying that that is what Quirk has in mind---far from that. However, we should not forget that labels have a value, they provide a definition. And, Bolinger (1973: 541) is right when he says that 'a loaded word is like a loaded gun, sometimes fired deliberately, but almost as often by accident.'

I will not digress here to discuss why Quirk's major points cannot be accepted in terms of the sociolinguistic reality of world Englishes, and how they cannot be supported by the linguistic history of the spread of other major languages of the world. This has already been done in a number of studies (for references see Kachru 1986a and Smith, ed. 1987). However, I do not want to give the impression that Quirk's concerns are not shared by other scholars. Indeed, there are several scholars of that persuasion in the United Kingdom, in the USA as well as in Asia and Africa. I will save the discussion of these concerns, 'the Quirk concerns', for another occasion (see Kachru 1989).

2.2 Acquisition and creativity: The 'leaking' paradigms

The second question relates to acquisition and creativity. The dominant paradigms of second language acquisition are 'leaking' for more than one reason. The question of 'bridging the paradigm gap' between the theory and functions of the institutionalized varieties of English has been discussed in several recent studies (see specifically, Lowenberg and Sridhar [eds.] 1986). I am addressing here another aspect of the 'leaking' paradigms: the misinterpretation or neglect of the creative aspects of uses of English in the Outer Circle.

This misinterpretation is essentially the result of undue emphasis on concepts such as 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization'. However, it is gratifying to note that, after dominating the scene for over a decade, the error in institutionalizing 'error analysis' as an insightful paradigm has finally been realized (see relevant studies in Robinett & Schachter [eds.] 1983). But let me go back to the concepts 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization'.

'Interlanguage' is 'the type of language produced by second-and foreign-language learners who are in the process of learning a language.' (Richards et al. 1985: 145) and 'fossilization' refers to '... linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular NL [native language] will tend to keep in their IL [interlanguage] relative to a particular TL [target language], no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the TL' (Selinker 1972 in Robinett and Schachter 1983: 177).

Interlanguage, then, is a developmental process, and fossilization is a static condition. One is developmental in the sense that it is model (or target) oriented, and suggests directionality in terms of attaining stages toward a goal. The other is static and indicates 'freezing' with respect to creativity.

There are at least three problems with these two concepts with particular reference to world Englishes. These are:

a. **Acceptance of a unimodel approach to creativity**: The creative use of language is seen with reference to the model provided by the target language, and the goal of acquisition is determined by the acquisition of an exo-normative model;

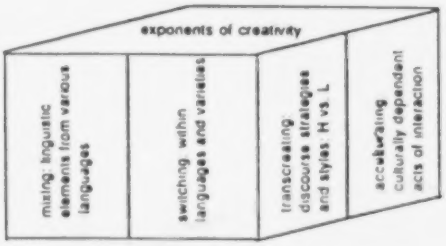
b. **Rejection of the contact features as undesirable interference**: This has even resulted in a failure to recognize subtle creative processes due to the influence of the contexts of contact. The effects of contact have only been viewed in a negative sense; and

c. **Emphasis on a 'unidimensional' view of functions**: The 'unidimensional view' provides a misleading picture about the functions of English, and about the innovations in English. This view is misleading in more than one sense. First, it results in a serious corpus constraint. Variety-specific generalizations are made on one type of data (e.g. scripts provided by students), ignoring the implications of the cline of bilingualism. Second, the 'interference' is not related to function: The result is that external discoursal and interactional norms are imposed on a variety. The 'interference' in, for example, Singaporean English or Pakistani English, is not always the result of acquisitional deficiency; there is sometimes a clear motivation for it. Often, in newspaper registers, for example, the aim is to establish, contextually speaking, an identity with readers (see e.g. Kachru 1982 for references).

The insightful dimensions of creativity in English such as non-native literatures in English, and **intra**national registers ('mixed' or 'unmixed') seem to have escaped the attention of second language acquisition researchers in English. In fact, as I have said elsewhere (Kachru 1987), David Crystal is not alone among linguists who believe that '...it is quite unclear what to make of cases like Nabokov and others' (see Paikeday 1985: 67). It so happens that in bilingual societies, most literary creativity is done in a language or a variety which is not one's first language variety. The constraints of 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization' on such creativity are simply not applicable. If a text is not viewed in this broader context the result is misleading generalizations of the type which we find in Bell (1976) and Selinker (1972). Bell considers 'Indianized English',

or 'Anglicized Hindi' 'xized' varieties, because '... the motivation for or possibility of further learning is removed from a group of learners' (155). How misleading!

It is essential to consider the multiple dimensions of creativity, and then make generalizations. By multiple dimensions I mean creativity of various types, appropriate to different contexts, genres, and so on. Consider, for example, the following:


exponents of creativity
mixing linguistic elements from various languages
switching within languages and varieties
transcreating discourse strategies and styles H vs L
accelerating culturally dependent acts of interaction

2.3 Pragmatic contexts: Success vs failure

The third question concerns the user and uses. Research on the pragmatics of English---that is, on the variables of pragmatic success and failure in world Englishes---is basically determined in terms of (a) the formal characteristics of the code or its varieties; (b) the participants in an interaction; and (c) the 'effective results' of verbal communication. Linguistic encounters in the Outer Circle are primarily viewed with reference to variables of the Inner Circle.

This, of course, raises several questions, because the underlying sociolinguistic presuppositions are mistaken. One basically wrong assumption is that non-native varieties of English are primarily used for international purposes. That actually is not true. In the Outer Circle, the interaction with native speakers of English is minimal. In India, Nigeria, Singapore, and the Philippines, to give just four examples, the localized (domesticated) roles are more extensive, and more important, than are the international roles.

Another mistaken assumption is that when English is used internationally, a native speaker is usually involved. This emphasis on the native speaker of English in all interactional contexts is of doubtful sociolinguistic validity. The real-world situation is that, in the Outer Circle, the predominant functions of English involve interlocutors who use English as an additional language---Indians with Indians, Singaporeans with Singaporeans, Indians with Singaporeans, Filipinos with Chinese or Japanese, Nigerians with Kenyans, and so on. This point has been clearly brought out in Smith, 1987 with empirical data from several parts of the world.

In such intranational and Outer Circle encounters, the users of institutionalized varieties of English are certainly not using just one type of English; they expect an Indian to sound like an Indian and to use the discoursal strategies of an Indian, and they expect a Nigerian to come up to their notion (however stereotypical) of a Nigerian user of English. The interlocutors in such interactions expect a functional range of varieties, and they certainly adopt the strategies of 'mixing' and 'switching' depending on the participants. It is thus the contexts of encounters which determine the interactional strategies used in a linguistic interaction.

I am certainly not advocating that we should not expect linguistically (and contextually) maximal pragmatic success in what have been claimed to be the 'survival' registers. My claim is that, for determining the pragmatic success of the largest range of functional domains for English, the local (domesticated) pragmatic contexts are important, because it is these contexts that matter the most to the largest number of English-users in the Outer Circle. The interaction with native speakers is only marginal. In an earlier paper (Kachru 1986b), I have suggested that this claim applies to several subregisters---e.g. legal or medical---in India and Nigeria, to give just two examples.

In the Outer Circle, the members of English-using speech fellowships interact with a verbal repertoire consisting of several codes, and the use of each code has a 'social meaning'. We seem to have underestimated the linguistic manipulation of the multilingual contexts in which English is used. We see this manipulation when we watch a Singaporean doctor talk to a Singaporean patient, or an Indian or a Pakistani doctor interact with a patient from his or her region. The manipulation takes place in lectal switch, code mixing, and so on.

And, while discussing the pragmatics of a code, let me bring in an aspect of world Englishes generally ignored by applied linguists: the use of sub-varieties of English in, for example, literary creativity. This aspect has been ignored particularly by those linguists who work in the areas of applied or contrastive stylistics. What immediately comes to mind is the nativized styles and discourse in the English used in the Outer Circle (see e.g. Smith 1987). Consideration of this aspect of English is important, since the writer of English in the Outer Circle is faced with a rather difficult situation; he/she is a bilingual or multilingual, but not necessarily bi-or-multicultural. And he/she is using English in a context which gives the language a new linguistic and cultural identity (see e.g. Dissanayake and Nichter 1987, Gonzalez 1987, Kachru 1983 and 1986c, Thumboo 1988).

Now, the pragmatic success of such codes is not determined by the attitude of the native speaker toward the code, but by the effectiveness of such codes within the contexts of use such as stylistic effectiveness, emotional effectiveness, and effectiveness in terms of identity. Let us consider for example, the creative writing of three contemporary Singaporean writers of English: Kirpal Singh, Arthur Yap, and Catherine Lim.

Singh's *Voices* and Yap's *two mothers in an HDB playground*, both poetic compositions, and Lim's stories *A Taxi driver* and *A Mother-in-law's Curse* exploit distinctly different stylistic devices to achieve what I believe is maximum pragmatic success in textual terms. *Voices* essentially uses mixed codes; Yap contextually, as it were, 'legitimizes' the use of an attitudinally low variety and shows the effectiveness of various types of mixing; e.g. the poem contains *jamban*('toilet bowl' in Malay), *toa-soh* ('drive in a car' in Hokkien), *ah pah* ('father' in Hokkien), and constructions such as 'What boy is he in the exam?', 'I scold like mad but what for?' 'Sit like don't want to get up', and so on. And Lim provides convincing examples of appropriate code alteration true to the sociolinguistic contexts of Singapore.

It is through such linguistic devices of diglossic switch and mixing (as in Yap's poem) that various local stylistic resources for creativity are exploited. True, there is a linguistic dilemma in this: if such creativity is evaluated within reference points provided by the Inner Circle, or taking the native speaker as the primary reader of such texts, one might say that there are 'inappropriate' uses of varieties of English. However, if the creativity is viewed from the perspective of the code repertoire of a Singapore creative writer and a Singaporean reader, the codes are appropriate in terms of use. And, for those who are familiar with the Singaporean sociolinguistic contexts, the language has been used with maximum pragmatic success.

Another example is from the state bordering on Singapore. In Malaysia, *Asia Week* (May 24, 1987: 64) tells us that 'English-medium drama by local playwrights is a recent trend.' In the play *Caught in the middle*, there is an attempt to 'go completely Malaysian.' The strategies used are the following: the bulk of the dialogue is in English, but there is switching and mixing between Bahasa Malaysia, Cantonese, and Tamil. We are told that '... 'Malaysian English' spoken, especially marks a progression toward more realistic language in more realistic settings---the home, the pub.' Consider the following excerpt:

> Mrs. Chandran: Aiee-yah, mow fatt chee ka la (can't do anything about it.) Clean it up, Ah Lan. The rubbish-man will be coming soon, and you know he doesn't take rubbish that isn't nicely packed and tied up.
>
> Ah Lan (the amah) : Rubbish is rubbish-lah. Supposed to be dirty, what. Real fussy rubbish-man, must have neat rubbish to take away.

And Lloyd Fernando's observation is that Malaysian English provides realism to the play,

> It exploits that with good humor. Malaysian English is now a dialect, recognized as such. In some situations, if you don't speak like that, you are regarded as a foreigner. By using it [Malaysian English] the playwright draws us into the magic circle(64).

The point here is that the parameters for determining pragmatic success cannot always be, and should not always be, determined by the Inner Circle. Achebe (1976: 11), therefore has a point when he says that:

> I should like to see the word *universal* banned altogether from discussions of African literature until such a time as people cease to use it as a synonym for the narrow, self-serving parochialism of Europe.

Let me give another example here from the register of advertising in Japan. Of course, Japan is not a part of the Outer Circle, and from my point of view that fact makes this example even more significant. The example throws a different light on our use of the term 'pragmatic success', and I believe supports what I have suggested above.

The pragmatic success of English in advertising in Japan, as illustrated by the following example, must be seen with reference to the attitude of the Japanese toward English, and their 'consuming passion for English vocabulary' (*Asia Week*, October 5, 1984: 49).

1. Kanebo cosmetics: for beautiful human life
2. Tokyo Utility Company: my life, my gas
3. Shinjuku Station Concourse: nice guy making; multiple days autumn fair; planning and creative; let's communicate.

Asia Week makes an apt observation about contextual justification of these examples:

> to the English speaker they [vocabulary items] may be silly, childish, or annoying. Sometimes a double meaning makes them unintentionally funny. But the ubiquitous English of Japanese ads conveys a feeling to Japanese(p. 49).

The use of these phrases---deviant from the native speakers' perspective---has a deep psychological effect from the Japanese point of view; and, from a commercial perspective, that is just what an advertisement should achieve. This point is clearly emphasized in the following extended excerpt:

To produce one such phrase requires the expensive services of an ad agency as sophisticated as anywhere. A creative director gathers the team and concepts are tossed about, a first-rate copywriter works on the theme, a lengthy rationalization is prepared for the client, a decision eventually made to launch. Cost: maybe millions of yen. *Everyone understands that it is substandard English. Explains a copywriter at Dentsu: 'yes, of course we know it sounds corny to an American, even objectionable to some. But what the foreigner thinks of it is immaterial. The ad is purely domestic, a lot of market research has gone into it. It evokes the right images. It sells.'* For product names, English words that seem dismayingly inappropriate to the foreign listener are sometimes chosen. The most frequently quoted example is a very popular soft-drink called *Sweat*. The idea of using a body secretion as an enticing name for a fluid to drink out of a can is just as unpleasant to a Japanese as to an Englishman, but *sweat* conjures a different image: hot and thirsty after vigorous activity on the sporting field. The drink's *Pocari* in Hongkong. Some English words enjoy a fad season. Currently very much in are *life, my, be*, and *city*, the last-named suffering from the phonetic necessity to render the s before *i* as *sh*. My *City* is a multi-storeyed shopping complex in Shinjuku where you can shop for *my-sports* things to take to your *my-house* in your *my-car*. *New* remains popular. If no suitable English word exists, nothing is lost, coin one. Some, indeed, are accidentally rather catchy: *magineer*. Others elicit only sighs. *Creap* is a big selling cream-powder for coffee. *Facom* was perhaps not such a felicitous choice considering the open back vowel for Japanese. Currently in season are words ending in - topia, presumably from *utopia*. There was a *Portopia*, a *Computopia* and a *Sportopia*. The brand-new Hilton Hotel boasts a splendid shopping annex called the *Hiltopia*. (Emphasis added; *Asiaweek*, October 5, 1984).

2.4 Cultural content of English

The fourth question is rather controversial: what is the culture specificity of English? There are two views on this point. One view holds that English is essentially an exponent of the Western Judeo-Christian tradition. It is believed that it is this association and cultural-load of English that interferes in more than one sense with the native socio-cultural traditions in Asia and Africa. Therefore, the second, non-culture-specific view, takes the position that '...the English language is different from other languages in that it 'extends' the meaning of particular words beyond the culture-specific connotations because of the international demands made on it' (Lyons, quoted in Street 1984: 78).

The first view, culture-specific, seems to be used in more than one sense. A number of scholars in Britain and the USA feel that the culture-specificity of English is its essential characteristic, and that the non-cultural-specific view dilutes that position of the language. In the Outer Circle, those who oppose English, use the culture-specificity of English as a basis for arguing that the use of English is an intrusion into their native cultures. Thus, according to this group, English is an 'alien' language not only in the sense that it does not belong to the linguistic stock of the region, but also in that it represents a culture alien to the local socio-cultural traditions.

It seems to me that the strength of English is not its culture-specificity with reference to Britain or America, or non-culture specificity in the sense Lyons presents it, and which Street rightly rejects (for details see Street 1984: 66-94). The strength of English lies in its multi-cultural specificity, which the language reveals in its formal and functional characteristics, as in, for example, West Africa, South Asia, and the Philippines. These characteristics have given the English language distinct cultural identities in these regions, and recognition of this fact is essential for any insightful research on the world varieties of English. A good parallel example is that of Christianity and Islam in Asia: these two religions have become so much a part of the local cultural traditions that it is not very insightful to consider these now as 'foreign'.

2.5 Ideological change

The fifth question is closely related to the preceding discussions since culture-specificity and ideological change seem to go hand in hand. I believe that in discussions of ideological change, undue emphasis seems to have been laid on one type of ideological change---the positive or negative aspects of Westernization. The reality seems to be in between the two extreme positions (see Kachru 1986d). A process of rethinking and reevaluation is needed to see what English has contributed in the past and continues to contribute in the present in the Outer Circle---as indeed do other languages---toward self-identification and self-knowledge.

A good example is again provided by Japan. Consider the following observation from *JAAL Bulletin* (December 1986: 7).[4]

> Prof. Takao Suzuki of Keio university lectured on 'International English and Native English---Is English really an International language?' Dividing English into International English and Native English, he criticized Japanese teachers of English for teaching Native English, dealing only with the literature, history and lifestyles of England and America. He urged us to recognize the fact that English is no longer the sole property of native English speakers.

Japan's relations with Europe and America have changed from 'vertical (unidirectional inflow of advanced technology and culture) to 'horizontal' (economical and cultural exchange on equal terms). Accordingly, he argued, English teaching in Japan should also change from emphasizing the conventional 'receiver' type to emphasizing the 'sender' type in order to express ourselves and our culture. While using English as the 'form', he suggested, we should use as the 'content' Japan and other non-English cultural phenomena such as Korean history, Arabic religion, or German literature.

The last question is about communicative competence and it has many faces. My preceding discussion of pragmatic success, culture-specificity, and ideological change naturally leads us to the area which is vaguely represented in 'communicative competence'(for further discussion see Savignon 1987). In recent years, communicative competence has become one major area to which applied linguists have paid serious attention. A partial bibliography on communicative language teaching includes over 1180 items (see Ramaiah and Prabhu 1985, also Berns 1985). Again, considerable research on this topic has been done with specific reference to the teaching of English in the Outer and Expanding Circles of English, and this research comes in various vintages. The most popular and, at the same time, rewarding for the publishing industry is research on ESP (English for Specific Purposes).

Research on ESP, manuals for its use, lexical lists, and other aids are guided by the assumption of the culture-specificity of English, in which 'appropriateness' is determined by the interlocutors from the Inner Circle. I have shown in an earlier paper on this topic that this assumption is only partially correct (see Kachru 1986b).

However as an aside, I would like to mention a recent paper by Francis Singh (1987) which insightfully discusses the role of power and politics in the examples chosen to illustrate various grammatical points in three grammar books used in the Indian sub-continent, Nesfield (1895), Tipping (1933), and Wren and Martin (1954). She, then,contrasts the examples used by these three grammarians with that of Sidhu (1976), an Indian teacher of English. The conclusions Singh arrives at are very illuminating. These four grammar books provide paradigm examples of power and politics as these reflect in the genre of school textbooks.

What we need now is a study of the same type for ESP texts. My guess is that the results concerning the underlying assumptions of such texts will be, to say the least, provocative.

3.0 Where does applied linguistics fail the Outer Circle of English?

And now I come to what to me is the heart of the problem. And it naturally is controversial. Where does applied linguistics fail the Outer Circle of English? It is true that the last three decades have been the decades of significant strides for the development of applied linguistics. True, we must recognize the fact that applied theory has been used in areas which were almost unresearched before. And the result of this extension and application of the linguistic sciences has been insightful. It is now realized, though belatedly in the USA, as Lakoff (1975: 336) tells us, that '... the theoretical linguist must deal with problems of the intellect and morality, with reality and sanity...' And, turning to applied linguists, Lakoff continues '...the applied linguist must concern himself with decisions among possible theories, universals of grammar, relations among grammatical systems.' But, then, that is only one side of the coin. There is, naturally, another side to this coin---a side which has traditionally been left without comment. A side which touches millions of users of English in the Outer Circle.

It is this side of applied linguistics which concerns educators, policy planners, parents, children and above all, a multitude of developing nations across the proverbial Seven Seas. The implications of applied linguistic research raise questions, and result in various types of concerns. As I said at the outset, these are questions of theory, empirical validity, social responsibility, and of ideology. Let me briefly present some of these here.

First, the question of ethnocentricism in conceptualization of the field of world Englishes. The world Englishes in the Outer Circle are perceived from the vantage point of the Inner Circle. The perception of the users and uses of English in that circle is not only in conflict with the real sociolinguistic profiles of English, but is also conditioned by an attitude which has divided the English-using world into two large groups. One group, defined in most unrealistic terms, comprises those who seem to be expected to learn English for communication with another particular group. And, the other group comprises those who continue to look at the diffusion of English essentially in pedagogical terms. This ethnocentric perception has created a situation which is obviously incorrect on many counts.

The second question relates to what has been termed in the literature 'the Observer's Paradox'. The 'Observer's Paradox' applies in several ways to observations on English in the Outer Circle. First, there is an idealization of contexts of use; second, the focus is on static categories of the lectal range as opposed to the dynamic interactional nature of the functions; third, the observer isolates the use of English from the total repertoire of the user; and fourth, the researcher does not recognize the confusion between the performance and the model.

The third question involves the 'paradigm trap'. The paradigm trap seems to constrain not only description of the varieties, but also discussion of creativity in the use of the language, models for teaching, and teaching methodology. One notices this constraint in several ways: in the theoretical and methodological approaches used to describe the sociolinguistic contexts, and in the data selected for analysis; in the description of the acquisitional strategies and the resultant description of such language, and the generalizations made from such data (e.g. interlanguage, fossilization); and in the evangelical zeal with which the pedagogical methods are propagated and presented to the developing Third World, often with weak theoretical foundations, and with doubtful relevance to the sociological, educational, and economic contexts of the Outer Circle.

The fourth question relates to the frustrating signs of excessive commercialization of professional minds and professional organizations. In professional circles, in ESL/EFL programs, there still is the syndrome that the English language is part of the baggage of transfer of technology to the Outer Circle. This one way transfer-of-technology-mentality is fortunately being abandoned by pragmatic---and forward looking---social scientists working on the problems related to the developing world. But, unfortunately, in the ESL/EFL circles the old paradigm still continues.

The above concerns do not exhaust the list, they are only indicative of the tensions which one notices in the literature. However, there are some other, in my view fundamental, concerns for applied linguistic research, which have broader significance. I would like to discuss these briefly.

These issues concern conceptualizations about the users of English internationally, conceptualizations of the theoretical frameworks adopted for the description of the English-using speech fellowships in the Outer Circle, and the question of the 'renewal of connection' between the theoretical frameworks and the uses and users of English.[5]

First, let me discuss the conceptualization concerning the users of English internationally. In the post-1950s, the dominant paradigms of linguistic research have taken monolingualism as the norm for linguistic behavior in linguistic interactions. This is particularly true of the USA. This position, unfortunately, has resulted in a rather distorted view of bilingual societies, and bilingualism in general. As a consequence, the manifestations of language contact have been viewed from the wrong perspective. Mühlhäusler (1985) is right in drawing our attention to the fact that language contact has been receiving less and less attention in linguistic literature.[6]

The concept that seems to have survived in applied linguistics is 'interference'. And here Joshua Fishman's observation (1968: 29) has, unfortunately come to haunt us. He says that linguists tend to see language in two ways '... the first being that of two "pure" languages, and the second that of "interference" between them.' That observation may not apply to all linguists,

but it is certainly true of most dominant research paradigms used for the study of world Englishes. The term 'interference' has acquired a negative connotation, attitudinally very loaded.

What such statements convey, unfortunately, is that multilingualism is an aberration, and monolingualism is the norm. However, the reality is that monolingualism is the exception, and the largest number of users of English are bi- or multilinguals; such bi- or multilingual users of English bring to the English language a multicultural dimension, not only in the Outer Circle, but even in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and so on (see e.g. Walker 1984).

It is not that the relationship of language and the sociocultural context is not recognized. Indeed it is, as for example by Quirk (1986: 19), when he says,

> ... even the simplest, shortest, least technical, least momentous texts have a structure involving profound **interactions** between language and the world, between individual and culture in which they operate: involving extensive assumptions about shared knowledge and shared attitudes, reasoned inferences about the degree to which participants in even such simple communications are willing to operate. [Emphasis added]

However, when it comes to recognizing the implications of the use of English in, for example, the Asian or African contexts, the results of such uses on the form and functions of English, and the reflections of such uses in the literatures written in English, there is serious resistance to the interrelation between language and the world, as we find in Quirk's observation: the important process of cross-over is missing. That is unfortunately true of Quirk's own papers (see e.g. Quirk 1988 and 1989).

And, related to this is the conceptualization of theoretical frameworks used for description and analysis of English in the Outer Circle. It is unfortunate that the types of models used for such description by applied linguists have been rather uninsightful. What is needed is to view the uses and the users of English within the theoretical frameworks which may be considered 'socially realistic'. What I have in mind are, for example, the frameworks presented by J.R. Firth, M.A.K. Halliday, Dell Hymes, and William Labov. Halliday (1978: 2) tells us:

> A social reality (or a 'culture') is itself an edifice of meanings --- a semiotic construct. In this perspective, language is one of the semiotic systems that constitutes a culture; one that is distinctive in that it also serves as an encoding system for many (though not all) of the others ...

And he adds:

> The contexts in which meanings are exchanged are not devoid of social value; a context of speech is itself a semiotic construct, having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the participants to predict features of the prevailing register ... and hence to understand one another as they go along.

The advantage of such frameworks as that of Halliday is that they provide a context for description, they relate language to use, and, yet, they bring out the formal distinctiveness; they assign a 'meaning' to what has merely been termed 'interference' or 'fossilization'. They provide a dimension to the description which many structural and post-structural paradigms have failed to provide. A socioculturally satisfactory description and theoretically insightful analysis must still seek the 'renewal of connection with experience', as Firth would say (1957: xii). And here, the crucial word is 'experience'.

It is not too much to ask that claims about the form and functions of English in the Outer Circle be justified in terms of the renewal of connection. This implies that the observations about English in the Outer Circle should be valid in terms of the following: (a) the sociolinguistic contexts, (b) the functional contexts, (c) the pragmatic contexts, and (d) the attitudinal contexts.

What I have said above is broad generalization: it gives the impression that all current approaches to world Englishes have ignored the above contexts. That actually is not correct.

The above discussion may be summarized in terms of a bundle of fallacies which show in the dominant approaches to world Englishes. The fallacies are of the following types: theoretical, methodological, formal, functional, and attitudinal.

TYPES OF FALLACIES ABOUT WORLD ENGLISHES
(The Outer Circle)

THEORETICAL	METHODOLOGICAL	FORMAL	FUNCTIONAL	ATTITUDINAL
*Paradigm trap	*cynicism about ontological status of varieties	*variety-specific generalizations on one type of data	*no consideration of 'range' and 'depth'	*us/them dichotomy
*ideal hearer-speaker	*non-recognition of varieties within a variety	*non-recognition of institutionalization	*non-recognition of 'pluricentricity'	*non-recognition of historical depth
*mono-lingualism as the norm	*ignoring socio-linguistic contexts (users/uses)	*'error'-oriented approach	*non-recognition of multiple socio-cultural identities	*emphasis on 'integrative' as opposed to 'instrumental' motivation
*emphasis on static as opposed to dynamic	*non-recognition of cline of a. bilingualism b. intelligibility c. acceptability	*unidimensional generalizations (developed/developing)	*undue emphasis on international as opposed to intranational roles	*stress on exo-centric models without pragmatic justification
	*non-recognition of 'verbal repertoire'	*no distinction between acquisitional deficiency and creative deviation/ innovation	*variables for the following, e.g., determined on the basis of Inner Circle a. pragmatic success/failure b. intelligibility/ interpretability/ comprehensibility c. communicative competence d. ESP	
	*ambilingualism as the norm	*no attempt to contextualize nativization		
	*directionality toward monomodel	*non-recognition of 'systemicness'		
		*non-recognition of social identity with lectal shifts, discoursal strategies, mixing, switching, and the cline of 'norms'		

But all the bees are not out of my bonnet yet. The issues raised in this paper, though restricted to applied linguistics and world Englishes, apply to other areas of applied linguistics too. Here, I must go back to the position which I presented at the beginning. I do not see applied linguistics divorced from the social concerns of our times, nor from the concerns of relevance to the societies in which we live. This view, of course, entails a **responsibility**. The question of responsibility brings several other issues to the forefront: the issues of social identity, of attitudes, of cultural values, and of culturally-determined interactional patterns and their acceptance, and, above all, of choosing the most insightful paradigms of research.

In other words, the question of the whole semiotic system is involved here. And, more important, in answering questions about Englishes across cultures, we get only glimpses of truth. True, these glimpses are tantalizing, but they do not present the whole truth about the users and uses of English. And here, once more, I must go back to Dwight Bolinger's inspiring Presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America (1973), in which, with reference to a different context, he says 'Truth is a linguistic question because communication is impossible without it.' (1973: 549) We, as applied linguists, cannot justifiably be just 'social sideliners'. And if I may continue with Bolinger's quote, the issue becomes more complex, since as he aptly warns us, 'a taste of truth is like a taste of blood.'

The task of applied linguists working on various aspects of world Englishes is very intricate, very sensitive, for the consequences of such research are immense. This research touches us all in very meaningful and far reaching ways. A large segment of the human population is involved in using English across cultures, and across languages. In our task, we have to satisfy many gods, and most of all, we have to remind ourselves more often than we actually do, that the situation of English around the world is unprecedented in many respects, and approaches to it have to be unprecedented too, formally, sociolinguistically, and attitudinally. It seems to me that our present paradigms and attitudes are simply not up to the challenge which our discipline is facing.

And the profession at large does not show that we are aware of the issues which confront the largest segment of users of English in the Outer Circle. We must be courageous and ask ourselves, like a Brahmin priest asked of Gautama Buddha some 2500 years ago, 'What are you then? Are you a god, a demigod, some spirit or an ordinary man?' 'None of these', answered the Buddha, 'I am awake.'

The problem is that applied linguists have not been asked the question. We seem to have no accountability; therefore, we do not know whether we are 'awake' about the challenges, and the social implications of our research. Perhaps the time has come to ask ourselves some serious questions: questions of social concern and of social responsibility. In other words, questions concerning accountability.

NOTES

[1]This is a slightly revised version of the plenary paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics (AILA) in Sidney, Australia, August 16-21, 1987. An earlier version of this paper has appeared in *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 19.1 Spring 1989, pp. 127-151 and *World Englishes* 9.1 1990, pp. 3-20.

[2]David Crystal provides an optimistic estimated figure of two billion users of English. He says, '... if you are highly conscious of international standards, or wish to keep the figures for World English down, you will opt for a total of around seven hundred million, in the mid 1980s. If you go to the opposite extreme, and allow in any systematic awareness whether in speaking, listening, reading or writing, you could easily persuade yourself of the reasonableness of two billion.' However, he hastens to add, 'I am happy to settle for a billion ... ' (see Crystal 1985: 9). The population figures for the countries listed in the three circles are from *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1989, *Book of the Year*, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

[3]For further discussion and references see Kachru 1985 and Kachru and Smith eds. 1986.

[4]Japan Association of Applied Linguistics.

[5]see, e.g. Kachru 1981: especially p. 77.

[6]As Mühlhäusler correctly suggests (1985: 52), aspects related to language contact are treated somewhat peripherally in introductory textbooks on linguistics. A random survey of such textbooks clearly proves Mühlhäusler's point. He says '... We can observe a marked decrease in the number of pages devoted to language contact phenomena...' (52). For a detailed discussion on language contact and for references see Hock 1986.

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LIBERATION LINGUISTICS AND THE QUIRK CONCERN

Braj B Kachru

I. Introduction

In his two recent papers, Sir Randolph Quirk, former President of the prestigious British Academy, and founder of the Survey of English Usage, has expressed several concerns about the current paradigms used for describing various issues related to the diffusion of English in the global context (see Quirk 1988 and 1989)*; he has particularly addressed the question of standard and variation.

These concerns were actually first expressed by Quirk in a somewhat different tone in 1985 at the 50th Anniversary Celebration meeting of the British Council in London (Quirk 1985).[1] I believe that the vital concerns expressed by him, though specifically addressed to the global spread of English, are not peculiar to English. In the literature we see that more or less identical concerns have been expressed with reference to other languages of wider communication: this includes languages restricted to a specific country (e.g. Hindi in India) or those which cut across national boundaries (e.g. Swahili in East Africa, Bahasa Malaysia in South East Asia, and French in Francophone countries).[2] The Quirk concerns are, then, worth considering whether one is concerned with language policy of a specific nation or with language policies and attitudes which cut across languages and cultures.

The case of English is important to language policy makers for other reasons, too. The global functions of English bring to the forefront a number of variables which, I believe, have generally eluded language policy makers. These variables are rarely mentioned in the literature on language diffusion, language shift and language maintenance.[3] I am particularly thinking of "unplanned" (or "invisible") policies as opposed to "planned" (or "visible") policies.[4] The Quirk concerns discussed here go much beyond specific issues, since Quirk has thrown his net very far and wide, covering a wide range of attitudes and issues: it is not possible to disentangle all the issues here.

In ideological terms, the main thrust of Quirk's recent paper (1989) is to express deep dissatisfaction with what he terms "liberation linguistics". In Quirk's paper, there is a presupposition that "liberation linguistics" has an underlying ideological motivation, an unarticulated philosophical and political

[*Note: These two papers constitute part I of this section - editor].

position. He says (1989: 21) "English was indeed the language used by men like Gandhi and Nehru in the movement to liberate India from the British raj and it is not surprizing that 'liberation linguistics' should have a very special place in relation to such countries." Quirk does not use any ideological term for his concerns; that does not, however, mean that his position cannot be related to an ideological position appropriate to his concerns. After all, it is rare that there is a position without an ideological backdrop. It seems to me that Quirk's position is not much different from what in another context has been termed "deficit linguistics". The concept "deficit linguistics" has so far primarily been used in the context of language learners with inadequate competence in using the vocabulary, grammar, and phonology of a language (e.g. Williams 1970; see also Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1986). It has also been used for "deficit" in organization of discourse and style strategies, and inadequate competence in manipulation of codes (e.g. Bernstein 1964 and later). During the past two or three decades a considerable body of literature has developed on this topic--both pro and con. A well-argued case against the deficit position, specifically with reference to Black English, is presented in Labov 1972. The Quirk concerns, of course, go beyond Black English and have global implications for research and the teaching of English.

II. THE QUIRK CONCERNS

First let me outline the major Quirk concerns: the concerns Quirk expresses are an attack on the positions which linguists (or, should I say sociolinguists?) have taken about the spread of English, its functions and its multi-norms;[5] in other words, on the recognition of pluricentricity and multi-identities of English. These concerns encompass a medley of issues, six of which I shall discuss here.

The first concern is that the recognition of a range of variation for English is a linguistic manifestation of underlying ideological positions. In Quirk's view, "liberation theology" has led to the demand "why not also a 'liberation linguistics'?" (1989: 20). Quirk believes that the result of this ideological underpinning is that ". . . the interest of varieties of English has got out of hand and has started blinding both teachers and taught to the central linguistic structure from which varieties might be seen as varying" (1989: 15).

The second is that there is a "confusion of types of linguistic variety that are freely referred to in educational, linguistic, sociolinguistic and literary critical discussion" (1989: 15; his emphasis).

The third is that the use of the term "institutionalized variety" with the non-native varieties of English is inappropriate. He says, "I am not aware of there being any institutionalized non-native varieties" (1989: 18). He provides

supporting evidence for his position from a native and non-native speaker competence test for French (Coppieters 1987). On the basis of which he concludes that there is

> . . . the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language. And since the research suggests that *the natives have radically different internalizations*, the implications for attempting the institutionalization of non-native varieties of any language are too obvious for me to mention (1989: 19; emphasis added).

One might mention here, as an aside, that this position is diametrically opposed to Quirk's position expressed in Quirk et al. (1972: 26), and again in Quirk et al (1985: 27-28) where it is stated that in the case of English, such [institutionalized] varieties

> . . . are so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalized and hence to be regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English.

The reference here is to the speech fellowships of English in South Asia, West Africa and Southeast Asia.

And now, coming back to Coppieter's test for French, Quirk comes to the conclusion that non-native teachers should be in "constant touch" with the native language. And he is concerned about the "implications for attempting the institutionalization of non-native varieties of any language" (1989: 19).

However, there are problems in accepting the conclusions. The solution of "constant touch with the native language" does not apply to the institutionalized varieties for more than one reason: first the practical reason; it simply is not possible for a teacher to be in constant touch with the native language given the number of teachers involved, the lack of resources and overwhelming non-native input; the second is a functional reason; the users of institutionalized varieties are expected to conform to the local norms and speech strategies since English is used for interaction primarily within intranational contexts. And, the last reason takes us to the psycholinguistic question of "internalization". The natives may have "radically different internalizations" about their L1 but that point is not vital for a rejection of institutionalization. In fact, the arguments for recognizing institutionalization are that such users of English have internalizations which are linked to their own multilinguistic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts. It is for that reason that a paradigm shift is desirable for understanding and describing the linguistic innovations and creativity in such varieties (see Kachru 1986a).

A number of these points have been raised by Paul Christophersen with reference to Quirk 1989 in his comments published in *English Today*, 23 (vol 6.3 pp. 61-63). Christophersen, however, is addressing his comments primarily to Quirk's mention of Coppieters's research on 'native' and 'non-native' speakers of French; he rightly warns us that "...we must not jump to conclusions regarding [its] possible implications." I cannot resist the temptation of presenting Christophersen's comments here. He says that Coppieters's research was

> exemplary in the way it was conducted and presented, but, as I am sure René Coppieters would be the first to admit, a great deal more work and more thinking are required before we can draw any safe conclusions. Let me mention a few points.
>
> In the first place, two groups of 20 and 21 people, respectively, can hardly be considered statistically significant in a matter that involves millions and millions of people.
>
> Secondly, and more importantly, 'native' and 'non-native' speakers are not two precisely defined categories. Even among 'natives', who might be thought to constitute a fairly homogeneous lot, one sometimes finds surprising variations, and an interesting example occurs among Coppieters's research subjects. One of four Italians was out of line with the other three in her perception of tense (Italian and French), apparently because she came from a part of Italy where there is a regional difference. Yet we are told that all the subjects were well educated, so she must have learnt standard Italian in her Italian school. In the English-speaking world, where in some quarters the very word 'standard' makes hackles rise, there are likely to be equally striking differences among the 'natives'. One wonders, too, how to classify people with L1 learnt for only the first four or five years of life and since abandoned and largely or entirely forgotten. Some Welsh people fall into this category. And does a *Schwyzertütsch* speaker who has learnt High German in school qualify as a 'native' speaker of German?
>
> 'Non-natives', being a negatively defined category, are bound to vary much more. A differently selected group of research subjects might well have produced a very different result. Coppieters's group contained the following L1 speakers: American, British, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Farsi. They were all engaged in academic or similar work; they had lived in France for an average of seventeen years and appeared to be fully at home in French and in their French surroundings, but only six of the twenty-one had no foreign accent. With two exceptions they had all had formal training in French, but none of them had specialized in French.

I wonder about the non-native's training in French. The questionnaire that was used in testing them covered mainly such things as *imparfait/passé composé, il or ce*, and the place of the adjective before or after the noun - relatively subtle distinctions, yet all of them ones which should have formed part of their training. If they had been better trained in French, might they not have done better in the test? I tried one or two of the questions on my son, who had done A level French, and he seemed to cope fairly well. And my own formal training in French, which I received in Denmark well over fifty years ago, also seems to have equipped me quite well. I have never lived in France; nor has my son.

What I am unhappy about is a tendency to assume that there is a mysterious, semi-mystical difference between two groups of people, natives and non-natives, a difference which affects forever the way their minds work when handling the language concerned-something to do with the way their minds are 'wired', as some people would put it. This assumption is very similar to the Whorfian hypothesis in its outré form, in which we are all regarded as imprisoned within our respective languages and the thought forms that they impose upon us, with apparently no chance of escape across the language barrier. There is also, I fear, a link with ancient beliefs associating differences in language with tribal or national differences and assuming that these matters are all congenitally determined. Now a theory that implies unbridgeable mental differences should only be accepted as a last resort, if there is no other explanation available. And I believe there is an explanation; I think an escape route exists through improved language teaching and, most important of all, through improved language learning - because it must of course be realized that the learner himself will have to make a great effort if he is to rewrite his mind.

Quirk also seems to believe that institutionalization is a conscious process which is attempted with definite ends in mind - political ends not excluded. I am not so sure of that: institutionalization is a product of linguistic, cultural and sociolinguistic processes over a period of time. Attitudinally, one may not recognize these processes and their linguistic realizations, but that does not mean that they do not exist.

The fourth concern is that there is a recognition of variation within a non-native variety. He is concerned about the "disclaimer of homogeneity" and "uniform competence" (1988: 235) in such varieties of English. To Quirk, recognition of variation within a variety is thus confusing and unacceptable.[6]

The fifth is that there is a widely recognized and justified sociolinguisitic and pedagogical distinction between ESL and EFL. Quirk ignores this distinction partly because, as he says, "...I doubt its validity and frequently fail to

understand its meaning"(1988: 236). However, in Quirk 1985, he recognizes the validity of this distinction and explains the difference of this "terminological triad" succinctly: the EFL users "...live in countries requiring English for what we may broadly call 'external purposes'..." (p1); the ESL countries are those "where English is in wide-spread use for what we may broadly call 'internal' purposes as well" (p2); and the ENL countries are"...where English is a native language" (p2).[7]

And the last concern is that there is recognition of the "desirability of non-native norms"(1988: 237). To illustrate his argument, Quirk says that "Tok Pisin is displaying gross internal instability and is being rejected in favor of an external model of English by those with power and influence" (1988: 237).

These six concerns do not exhaust Quirk's list of manifestations of "liberation linguistics", however, they do capture the main arguments of his position.

In articulating his concerns, Quirk is not presenting an alternate model for describing and understanding the diffusion, functions and planning of multilingual's linguistic behavior with reference to English. However, the arguments he presents do contribute toward developing a framework for "deficit linguistics".

What precisely does Quirk's "deficit linguistics" entail? I believe that it entails the following six important assumptions:

1. Rejection of the underlying linguistic motivations for the range of variation, and suggesting that such variational models are motivated by an urge for linguistic emancipation or "liberation linguistics";

2. Rejection of the sociolinguistic, cultural, and stylistic motivations for innovations and their institutionalization;

3. Rejection of the institutionalization of language (in this case, specifically English) if used as a second language;

4. Rejection of the cline of varieties within a non-native variety;

5. Rejection of the endocentric norms for English in the Outer Circle;

6. Rejection of the distinction between the users of what I have termed "the Outer Circle" (ESL) of English (Kachru 1985), and "the Expanding Circle" (EFL). Quirk settles for a dichotomy between the native speakers vs the non-native (L2) speakers.

III. HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR QUIRK'S CONCERN

The concerns which Quirk has articulated in his usual elegant style are of course not new. Such concerns have been expressed at various periods of time not only about English, but also about other languages: Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Hindi, and so on. In addition, the deficit models have been used both in L1 and L2 situations.

Just over two decades ago, Prator (1968), a distinguished English teacher and teacher trainer from this side of the Atlantic, took more or less an identical position as that of Quirk. However, there was a difference; in Prator's view the "heresy in TESL" was being committed by cousins on the other side of the Atlantic. It was Britain preaching "liberation linguistics" (see Kachru 1986b). There is, as Graeme Kennedy (1985: 7) says, referring to Quirk's 1985 paper, "a delicious irony" in that "Professor Quirk's paper reflects, in many respects, the position Prator advocated. . ." Kennedy continues ". . . however, since the orthodoxy has changed, it might be argued that Professor Quirk articulates a new British heresy. You simply cannot win."

Kennedy sees the question of standards as "fundamentally an attitudinal and especially an esthetic one" (p 7). Crystal commenting on the same paper (1985: 9-10), brings to the discussion another important dimension when he says, "what concerns me, however, is the way in which all discussion of standards ceases very quickly to be a linguistic discussion, and becomes instead an issue of social identity and I miss this perspective in his paper." Here Crystal has put his finger on a vital sociolinguistic point.

IV. MYTHS vs MULTILINGUAL'S REALITIES

The Quirk concerns are, of course, motivated by a venerable scholar's life-long desire for maintenance of what he considers "standards" for international English and the world's need for a functionally successful international language. And there is no disagreement that English is "... the best candidate at present on offer" (Quirk 1989: 24-25). One indeed shares this concern of Quirk's. However, it seems to me that in expressing this concern, Quirk has not only thrown out the bath water, but with it, the baby of many sociolinguistic realities. And to me, recognition of the sociolinguistic realities does not imply "... an active encouragement of the anti-standard ethos" (Quirk 1985: 3), nor does it imply "... to cock a snook at fashionably infashionable elitism by implying (or even stating) that any variety of language is 'good', as 'correct' as any other variety" (Quirk 1985: 5).

Quirk seems to perceive the spread of English primarily from the perspective of monolingual societies, and from uncomplicated language policy contexts. The concerns he expresses are far from the realities of multilingual societies, and negate the linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational and pragmatic realities of such societies. I shall briefly discuss some of these realities here.

1. Linguistic realities. The linguistic realities provide a complex network of various types of convergence: these are more powerful in moulding linguistic behavior than are outsiders' attitudes towards such modulated linguistic behavior (cf. Hock 1986: 498-512; Lehiste 1988). The basic criteria for marking pragmatic success is in terms of functional effectiveness with other members of the interactional network. This is particularly true of languages of wider communication or contact languages (e.g. the bazaar varieties).

2. Sociolinguistic realities. Sociolinguistic realities bring us closer to the functional context of language, attitudes, and identities. In Quirk's denial model, the sociolinguistic realities have no place. In institutionalized non-native varieties of English (and I know Quirk now rejects this concept) this context is particularly relevant as has already been demonstrated in a number of studies (e.g. see Kachru 1986b for references).

3. Educational realities. The educational realities open up a can of worms with a multitude of problems: classroom resources, equipment, teacher training, teaching materials and so on.

An additional point to be considered here is the input which a learner of English receives in acquiring the language. The input for acquisition, the model to be followed and the speech strategies to be used are provided by the peer group, the teachers and the media. And, there is an additional attitudinal aspect to it: the expectation of the interlocutors in an interactional context.

The recognition of institutionalization of a language in language policies is only partly an attitudinal matter. To a large extent it is a matter of the recognition of the linguistic processes, history and acculturation of the language in a region, and functional allocation of a variety. All these aspects must be viewed in their totality. When the Indian Constitution considers English as an "associate" official language, there is a message in it. When Chinua Achebe considers English as part of Africa's linguistic repertoire, this statement is indicative of a social, cultural, and linguistic reality. The claim that Indian English should be considered an Indian language (cf. Kachru 1989) on its functional basis is a recognition of several sociolinguistic realities. These realities must be taken into consideration while discussing the language policies in these countries.

Chinua Achebe's perspective, or Raja Rao's positive identity with English are, of course, valuable from one perspective. However, equally valuable, if not more so, is the position of those Africans and Asians who are denigrating English, foreseeing its doom. To them, its immense functional power, its social prestige, and its 'spell' on the people is suspect. Ngugi (1981: 5) is concerned that "African countries, as colonies and even today as neo-colonies, came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the languages of Europe: English-speaking, French-speaking or Portuguese-speaking African countries." To him the "biggest weapon" is "the cultural bomb", and

> the effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. . . It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages, rather than their own (1981: 3).

Then, there is the voice of Pattanayak (1985: 400) from another continent who says that

> English language in India has fostered western orientation and reduced the self-confidence of its users. Its dominant use in education has created a system which has bypassed the majority; in administration it has denied the majority participation in the socioeconomic reconstruction of the country and has made justice unjusticiable [sic]. Its use in the mass media threatens to homogenize cultures, obliterate languages and reduce people into a mass.

The recognition of realities of multilingual societies means relating policies concerning world Englishes to the complex matrix of identities and uses. Let me briefly outline here what I have said about this point in an earlier paper (Kachru 1987). The institutionalization and continuously expanding functions of English in the Outer Circle depend on several factors which demand demythologizing the traditional English canon. The "invisible" and not often articulated factors are, for example: (a) the Outer Circle users' emotional attachment to English. The result is that the our code vs their code dichotomy, as suggested by Quirk, becomes very blurred. This attachment is evident in response to questions asked to creative writers in English who write exclusively in English or in English and their "mother tongues" [8]; (b) the function of English as part of code extension in the verbal repertoire of a multilingual. It is not only a question of code alternation in the sense of switching between codes but also in "mixing" of codes (e.g. English and Indian languages); (c) recognition of English as a nativized and

acculturated code which has acquired local non-Judeo-Christian identities; and (d) recognition of English as a contact code for intranational function, the international functions being marginal.

V. WORLD ENGLISHES AND LANGUAGE POLICIES

What lessons does the spread of English have for our understanding of approaches to language policies and their formulation? There are several lessons which help us in sharpening our conceptualization and formulation of language policies.

1. Pressure groups and change. The first is the close relationship between the various pressure groups and their influence on changes in the policies. The parameters of language policies are only partially in the hands of the planners. The spread of English during the post-colonial period provides several case studies: India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Bangladesh.

In all these countries the recommendations of the planners had to be changed to meet the real political demands or to project an ideological image (e.g. that of Islamization in Bangladesh, and the calming of Muslim fundamentalist groups in Malaysia).

2. Unplanned parameters. The second is the power of unplanned language planning, as opposed to that of planned (visible) language planning. Visible language planning refers to the organized efforts to formulate language policies by recognized agencies. On the other hand, unplanned language "planning" is the efforts of generally unorganized, non-governmental agencies for acquiring and using a language. This point is well illustrated in Pakir (1988) and Y Kachru (1989). In fact, the invisible language policies are often contrary to the policies espoused by the state or other organized agencies. And such invisible pulls seem to be more powerful than the visible ones. Who are the initiators of invisible language policies? The studies on, for example, Singapore and Malaysia show that invisible language planning is determined to an extent by the attitude of parents toward a language, the role of the media, the role of the peers, and the societal pressures. What we notice, then, is the conflict between the slogan concerning the language policies and the action in actual execution of the policies; there is abundant cross-cultural evidence to support this point (see Kachru 1986b).

The other dimension of invisible language policies involves the role of creative writers in moulding language policy. I am not aware of this aspect being seriously considered in the literature on this topic. Two examples related to the use of English come to mind: one from Southeast Asia and another from South

Asia. In Singapore the stated language policy is a non-recognition of what has been termed basilect. However, as Pakir (1988) shows, this variety plays an important role in the verbal repertoire of Singaporeans. That this variety is a viable medium for literary creativity is demonstrated in the poems of, for example, Arthur Yap, and in fiction by Catherine Lim and others (see Kachru 1987). The result is that in spite of the language policy makers' open rejection of this variety, the basilect variety continues to function as a valuable linguistic tool in the verbal repertoire of Singaporeans.

In two South Asian countries, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, it is due to the efforts of literary writers in addition to other invisible planners who keep English a candidate in their language policies. Hashmi (1989: 8) considers Pakistani literature in English "as a national literature" which is responsive "... to the society in which it is created, and to the sensitivities that the society engenders." In Sri Lanka, English came back in a somewhat 'unplanned' way since "... the monolingual Sinhalese and Tamil had ... no means of communication with members of other communities" (Wijesinha 1988: i). And in India, as in other regions of the Outer Circle, as Narasimhaiah argues (nd: 14) it was "... a different racial and national genius and different social realities" which "called for departures from the normal English syntax, different intonational contours and made it inevitable for Indian writers to assimilate them into their own speech rhythms" (see also Kachru 1986a).

Invisible strategies are used not only when it comes to an imposed colonial language, as in the case of English: the same strategies are adopted in multilingual societies as a reaction--in favor or against--other languages of wider communication. Consider India's case again: In the Hindi belt of India (madhya desa), the speakers of what were considered the dialects of Hindi are establishing the rights of their own languages. The cases in point are that of Maithili in the state of Bihar and Rajasthani in the state of Rajasthan. The main reasons for this vibrantly articulated trend are:

(a) to establish an identity within a larger speech community,

(b) to mark ingroupness to obtain and retain power in a democratic society,

(c) to establish a pressure group for economic and other advantages, and

(d) to assert cultural separateness in literary and other traditions.

In South Asia and Southeast Asia, to consider just two regions, we have cases of numerous strategies used to frustrate the organized language policies. But that is not all. There are also cases of invisible language planners frustrating the unrealistic language policies: again one thinks of Singapore or Bangladesh.

In Bangladesh, when it formed a part of Pakistan, the Pakistani policy of language imposition was repeatedly rejected and in the process several people were killed during the language riots. February 24 is annually observed as Language Martyr's day in Bangladesh. These are important cases of language and identity which result in significant human sacrifice and suffering. The question of identity with language equally applies to English, too. It is in this sense that English has multi-cultural identities.

VI. THE QUIRK CONCERN AND LANGUAGE POLICIES

One might ask in what sense are the Quirk concerns relevant to the theoretical, sociolinguistic and pragmatic issues related to language planning? The 1988 and 1989 papers of Sir Randolph Quirk are thought-provoking in more than one way. One most important contribution of the papers is that they provoke us to ask some serious questions about language policies and attitudes, which are not generally asked in the literature on the topic. Consider, for example the following four questions.

The first question is of a theoretical nature: Can language policies be formulated and implemented in a theoretical vacuum (whether one is talking of a sociolinguistic theory or that of contact linguistics.)?

The second question is related to attitudes and identities: Can attitudes and identities be separated while discussing language policies, standardization and the norm?

The third question takes us to the politics of language policies: what role, if any, is played by political leaders in imparting language policies whether visible or invisible? The visible aspect of it is illustrated by the Islamization and Arabization (e.g. Bangladesh), or Hindu fundamentalism and Sanskritization (e.g. India). The invisible aspect of it is the concern for native-like standards or about falling standards of English expressed by political leaders as mentioned by Quirk (Indira Gandhi of India and Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore).

The fourth question takes us to the age old topic in second language acquisition: what, if any, are the strategies which the influential and powerful native-speakers use to control the direction of English, its innovations, and its acculturation?

In the three papers mentioned earlier, Quirk has not answered any of these questions: that he has raised some very provocative questions is, of course, in itself a contribution to an intense debate. These questions are closely related to contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics and literary creativity. These areas are vital for our understanding of language acquisition, use and creativity in human language.

It seems to me that any language policy divorced from "a renewal of connection" (to use a Firthian term) with these theoretical areas is not going to be insightful. One can not develop a language policy merely on attitudes. Attitudes may indeed be important exponents of an underlying motive for language policies as, for example, was the "Imperial Model" discussed by Quirk. But mere attitude cannot provide a sound base for developing a policy. In my view, Sir Randolph Quirk has presented a serious theoretical dilemma to us, by suggesting that the spread of English, and its resultant linguistic, sociolinguistic and literary consequences be seen purely from an attitudinal perspective. I believe that language history is not on his side.

It seems to me that there are several fallacies in conceptualizing world Englishes in the Outer Circle: these are primarily of four types: theoretical, methodological, linguistic and attitudinal. I have discussed these in detail in Kachru 1987 [1989].

In Quirk's arguments one notices a subtle rejection of the deviational, contextual, variationist, and interactional approaches for the understanding and description of the implications of the spread of English. While supporting the deficit approach, Quirk does not identify in any of his three papers the methods one might use in controlling codification around the world: I have discussed elsewhere (1985) four types of codification traditionally used for implementation of language policies. These are:

1. Authoritative or mandated codification. This includes policies generally adopted by the academies. A good example of this is the French Academy established in 1635. As is well-known, there were two attempts to set-up such academies for English: the first in England in 1712, and the second in the USA in 1780. And both failed. Perhaps history has a lesson for us.

2. Sociological or attitudinal codification. This is reflected in social or attitudinal preference of certain varieties. Abercrombie (1951: 14) has called it the "accent bar". However, this bar does not apply to "accent" only but is often extended to other levels too: grammatical, lexical, discoursal and stylistic.

3. Educational codification. This refers to codification determined by the dictionaries, the media, teacher's attitudes and so on.

4. Psychological codification. A good example of this is the psychological constraints put on the ritualistic use of Sanskrit. The correct use was a precondition for effective use of the language and incorrect use could result in the wrath of gods.

In the case of English there is essentially no authoritative codification, unless, of course, we grant authoritative sanction to various dictionaries and language manuals; the codification for English is primarily sociological, educational and indeed attitudinal. It seems to me that the deficit approach fails not only for the reason that it is based on several fallacies, it also fails for the reason that it is based on, at least, four false assumptions about the users and uses of English.

The first assumption is that in the Outer and Expanding circles (that is, Quirk's ESL and EFL countries), English is essentially learnt to interact with the native speakers of the language. This, of course, is only partially true. The reality is that in its localized varieties, English has become the main vehicle for interaction among its non-native users, with distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds -- Indians interacting with Nigerians, Japanese with Sri Lankans, Germans with Singaporeans, and so on. The culture bound localized strategies of, for example, politeness, persuasion, and phatic communion transcreated in English are more effective and culturally significant than are the 'native' strategies for interaction.

The second assumption is that English is essentially learnt as a tool to understand and teach the American or British cultural values, or what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions. This again is true only in a marginal sense. In culturally and linguistically pluralistic regions of the Outer Circle, English is an important tool to impart local traditions and cultural values. A large number of localized linguistic innovations and their diffusion is related to local cultural and sociopolitical contexts.

The third assumption is that the international non-native varieties of English are essentially "interlanguages" striving to achieve "native-like" character.[9] This position has been taken by, among others, Selinker (1972). In reality the situation is, as Quirk et al. observed in 1972 and again in 1985, that such institutionalized varieties are ". . . varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to more native-like English." This is a sociolinguistically correct position (see Sridhar and Sridhar 1986; see also Lowenberg and Sridhar eds. 1985).

The fourth assumption is that the native speakers of English as teachers, academic administrators and material developers are seriously involved in the global teaching of English, in policy formulation, and in determining the channels for the spread of language. In reality that is again only partially true.

In proposing language policies for English in the global context, the situation is indeed complex, and there are no easy answers. There is thus a need for a "paradigm shift" as has been proposed in several recent studies. The paradigm shift entails reconsidering the traditional sacred cows of English which does not necessarily mean, as Quirk suggests (1985: 3), "the active encouragement of anti-standard ethos" The list of such sacred cows is long; I do

not propose to list all of them here. But let me mention just three theoretical constructs here which linguists and language teachers have considered sacred. I'm not sure that these are still sacred for English. I am thinking of the concepts such as the "speech community" of English, "ideal speaker-hearer" of English and the "native speaker" of English [10].

In the context of world Englishes, what we actually see is that diversification is a marker of various types of sociolinguistic "messages". Let me briefly mention some of these here from an earlier study on this topic (Kachru 1987): first, English as an exponent of distance from the Inner Circle -- it may be social, cultural, and ideological distance. Second, English as a marker of "creativity potential". This aspect is clearly evident in the innovations used in creative writing of Ahmad Ali, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, Salman Rushdie, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Amos Tutuola. Third, English as a marker of the "Caliban Syndrome". This syndrome is a linguistic response to what Ngugi (1981) has called the "cultural bomb" effect of the colonial powers. There is no doubt that the "linguistic bomb" is somewhat diffused by giving it a local identity and a new name.

The earlier diffusion of English, as Quirk rightly suggests, followed the Imperial model of language spread. However, that historical fact has changed with later sociolinguistic realities, acculturation and diversification of the language. A rejection of this reality implies codification as a means of linguistic control. And that is a very "loaded weapon". This linguistic control is exercised in three ways: by the use of channels of codification and the control of these channels; by the attitude toward linguistic innovations, and their diffusion by those who are not part of such speech fellowships; and by the suggestion of dichotomies which are sociolinguistically and pragmatically not meaningful. Let us not forget that this subtle linguistic control provides immense power to these who have the power and can define. One can not, therefore, ignore the warning of Tromel-Plotz (1981: 76) that "only the powerful can define others and can make their definitions stick. By having their definitions accepted they appropriate more power."

And making these definitions stick is not power in an abstract sense only. There is more to it in economic terms: a recent report says, "the Worldwide market for EFL training is worth a massive £6.25 billion a year according to a new report from the Economic Intelligence Unit" (EFL Gazette. March 1989). The economics of determining and proposing language policies has never been so vital before. What effect the "liberation linguistics" may have in marketing English is just being studied.

There is no doubt that current debate on the "liberation model" vs. "deficit model", particularly with reference to English, is presenting numerous theoretical and pragmatic challenges to language policy makers. We have so far tackled issues of standardization and corpus planning in local and regional terms,

except in the case of survival registers where international codification has been proposed (e.g. SEASPEAK). However, world Englishes raises questions about international standardization with new parameters: us vs them. This, in my view, is an unprecedented challenge to language policy makers. It takes us across languages and cultures, practically on every continent. The Quirk concern clearly articulates the dilemma, but, as Crystal has rightly pointed out (1985: 9-10), completely misses the perspective of "social identity"; the issues have been divorced from sociolinguistic and pragmatic contexts.

In conclusion, let me share with you a story, actually a true story, narrated to me by a former Ambassador of India to the USA. [11] The story is a touching one, about a young American scholar who spent several years in a village in the Bihar State in Eastern India. At the time of his departure for the USA, the village council (panchayat) gave him an Indian style farewell. During the ceremony, one member of the village council, in his own dialect, requested the village headman to ask the young American guest if there are water buffaloes in his country, the USA. The puzzled young American replied "No". This response completely surprised, and somewhat shocked, the villager, and he innocently remarked that if the chief guest's country has no water buffaloes, it must be a poor country! And lo and behold, before the farewell ceremony concluded, the young American scholar was presented with two healthy water buffaloes and the head of the village council was profusely apologizing for giving him just two buffaloes. But he reassured the puzzled young American with folded hands (an Indian gesture of respect) that he should rest assured: in course of time, after reaching the USA, these two healthy buffaloes would multiply and make his native America prosperous.

And thereby hangs a linguistic tale: in this well meaning story there is a message for all of us who have suggestions for determining policies about English around the world. What is actually "deficit linguistics" in one context may actually be a matter of "difference" which is based on vital sociolinguistic realities of identity, creativity and linguistic and cultural contact. The questions are: can sociolinguistic realities be negated? And, can international codification be applied to a language which has over seven hundred million users across the globe? If the answer to the second question is "yes", it is vital to have a pragmatically viable proposal for such codification. We have yet to see such a proposal.

NOTES

[1]Quirk and Widdowson eds. 1985 contain the main papers presented at the conference and the discussion.

[2]For Hindi see Sridhar 1988, for other languages see e.g. Coulmas ed. 1988.

[3]See e.g. Kachru 1988 and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1986.

[4]See e.g. Pakir 1988, Kachru, Y. 1989.

[5]This includes, e.g. Ayo Bamgbose, John R Firth, M A K Halliday, Larry E Smith, Peter Strevens, Edwin Thumboo. My position in this connection is presented in papers published since 1962. A number of these are in Kachru 1983, 1986b, and Kachru ed. 1982.

[6]For a detailed discussion of the functional reasons for variation see Kachru 1986b.

[7]For a sociolinguistically and pragmatically motivated discussion of this triad see Kachru 1985

[8]See, e.g. Lal 1965

[9]For questions concerning this position see studies in Sridhar and Lowenberg eds. 1985.

[10]For a detailed discussion see Kachru 1988. See also Paikeday 1985.

[11]K R Narayanan told me this story in 1983. This has also been published in his book *India and America: Essays in Understanding* (1984: Washington D C: The Information Service of the Embassy of India, p.x). Narayanan writes "I used to tell a story -- a true story -- to illustrate this peculiar mixture of goodwill and lack of understanding that characterizes our relationship [India and US]."

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A Note by Randolph Quirk

A paper by Braj Kachru always deserves the most careful study; his present one* is no exception, and I have read it with deep interest and respect. The differences between us are of course considerable, and my perceptions of the changing English use in such countries as Nigeria, Malaysia, the Philippines, and his own India plainly do not accord with his. (I leave aside differences over the separate but perhaps related issue of the contracting use of English in such countries, where the question most acutely arises about the validity of the term 'English as a Second Language'; see the essays by both Bailey and Quirk in The State of the Language, edd C Ricks and L Michaels, Berkeley 1990).

I am pleased that Professor Kachru has detected some shift in my thinking over the years, since it is among a scholar's foremost duties to reach new conclusions as new evidence presents itself. But one must not exaggerate either the degree of shift in my views or its rapidity. In Chapter One of A Grammar of Contemporary English, published in 1972 but written a year or so earlier, my co-authors and I already harboured serious doubts about the 'interference varieties' (Professor Kachru implies that we called them 'institutionalised', but we did not) and about the 'active debate on these issues in India, Pakistan and several African countries' (p. 26). These doubts were reflected in the cautious may we used in the same paragraph when we suggested that some of the 'interference varieties...may be thought stable and adequate enough to be institutionalised.'

The position is simply that events in the subsequent twenty years have served to deepen such doubts, not remove them.

[*Note: The paper referred to is Kachru's Liberation Linguistics and the Quirk Concern - editor].

RESPONSE TO SIR RANDOLPH QUIRK'S 'NOTE' BY PROFESSOR BRAJ B KACHRU

I am grateful to Sir Randolph Quirk for his comments on my paper, and to the editor of the volume for giving me this opportunity to respond to them. I have several brief observations on Sir Randolph's reactions to my paper. First, I am delighted that the debate (or should I say concern?) about the international and intranational functions and varieties of English now represents view points from each of the three Circles (the Inner, the Outer and the Expanding Circles) of the users of English. That is how it should be, considering that the ratio of non-native users to those who use English as a native language is at least 2 to 1. (In fact these figures are based on the conservative estimate of 700 million non-native speakers and 350 million native speakers). In addition, due to the cultural plurality of English, the term "Englishes" is more appropriate than is a conceptualization of a monolithic, singular "English". Therefore, the exchange of ideas between different users of the language contributes to a better understanding of the spread of the language, its linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pedagogical implications. This exchange also, necessarily, highlights attitudes towards the language, its diversity and its standards and hopefully makes clearer the motivations for such linguistic attitudes. In this debate, as Sir Randolph rightly says, there is room for considerable differences in perception. It is only with this open-minded attitude that these questions can be discussed. After all, the issues are highly complex and involve cross-linguistic perceptions, sensibilities, and realism from each of the 'three worlds' (so called First World, Second World and Third World).

Second, I would be the last to disagree with Sir Randolph that a *shift* in thinking, or *changing* of positions on intellectual issues is not undesirable. No, not at all. However, Sir Randolph would certainly grant me that within a scholarly interaction, it is healthy and desirable to *evaluate* positions, or a 'shift in thinking'. My claim is, as Sir Randolph knows very well indeed, that his earlier position and the position articulated in 1985, is sociolinguistically and pragmatically on firm footing. This position has also been presented in the Introduction to Smith (1981: pp. xiii-xx) which Sir Randolph and I wrote jointly. I'm not sure that such a position is a step towards 'liberation linguistics'.

This position has ample support from language history, not only of English, but also of other languages of wider communication in the world. I am not quibbling over terminological issues. The term 'institutionalized varieties' is only a useful way of identifying the functional *range* and *depth* of uses of a variety of

English. It is a vital conceptual device to view the spread of English and its implications in sociocultural contexts where the spread of English has a history of almost 200 years (e.g. in parts of Asia and Africa).

The venerable scholar Dwight Bolinger has warned us that "a loaded word is like a loaded gun..." (1973; 541). In the Quirk et al. (1972) quote *'may be thought'* is such a double-edged use of the modal. 'May be thought' depends on the attitude: I believe that the stage of *possibility* has passed and English has already developed its multi-cultural identities, Asian, African and so on. And there is abundant linguistic and literary evidence for this (see Kachru 1988, 1990).

I am pleased that in their monumental work, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, published in 1985, Sir Randolph Quirk and his distinguished coauthors (Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik) have further articulated my position. They discuss varieties that arise due to interference from mother tongues in ESL and EFL contexts and continue: "At the opposite extreme are interference varieties that are so widespread in a community and of such long standing that they may be thought stable and adequate to be institutionalized and hence to be regarded as varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English" (pp. 27-28). As an aside I might add here that theoretical and empirical claims for this position are provided in Sridhar and Sridhar 1986 and Kachru 1981 and later, particularly 1986, 1988 and 1990.

Quirk et al., further elaborating on this point, say, "there is active debate on these issues in India, Pakistan, and several African countries, where *efficient and fairly stable varieties of English are prominent in educational use at the highest political and professional level and are beginning to acquire the status of national standards. The new cultural settings for the use of English have produced considerable changes: different notions of appropriate style and rhetoric, and an influx of loanwords, changes of meanings, and new expressions*" (p. 28; emphasis added).

It is further appropriately claimed that "we can also recognize regional supranational varieties such as South Asian English (the English of the Indian subcontinent), East African English, and West African English, and these in turn may share characteristics" (p. 28). I can hardly disagree with these sound observations. It is, of course, obvious that this position of Quirk et al. is not much different from the position of the so-called liberation linguists.

And finally, the issue of the *contracting* use of English. I have not read the Bailey and Quirk papers in *The State of the Language* (1990), but I have read Richard Bailey's papers on this and related topics, and have heard him speak on this topic in Islamabad, Pakistan, at the International Conference of English in South Asia (January 4-9, 1989). I really don't think that his observations are viable. And it is doubtful if what he says has empirical validity. The reality is that the "invisible" spread of English is more phenomenal than is its role in "visible" language policies. That is a fact and we must recognize it. In my recent field work in Asia, particularly South Asia from October 1988 to March 1989, I saw abundant evidence for this, as I did in Singapore, Malaysia and Sri Lanka during my earlier visits. Additionally, my colleagues tell me that the "hunger" for English is equally great in Africa and the Philippines: It is also documented in McCrum et al. (1986).

Sir Randolph has opened a debate on a topic which touches us all across the world as parents, teachers and users of English. I hope that concerned users of English, particularly from the so called Third World, will contribute to this important debate. The Regional Language Center of Singapore deserves our gratitude for providing a forum and devoting a special volume to this daunting cross-cultural and cross-linguistic issue.

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